
HUMAN AND
AUGUST BEBEL
EDITION

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WOMAN AND SOCIALISM

BY

AUGUST BEBEL

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AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION BY

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Introduction.

WE are living in an age of great social transformations that are steadily progressing. In all strata of society we perceive an unsettled state of mind and an increasing restlessness, denoting a marked tendency toward profound and radical changes. Many questions have arisen and are being discussed with growing interest in ever widening circles. One of the most important of these questions and one that is constantly coming into greater prominence, is the *woman question.*

The woman question deals with the position that woman should hold in our social organism, and seeks to determine how she can best develop her powers and her abilities, in order to become a useful member of human society, endowed with equal rights and serving society according to her best capacity. From our point of view this question coincides with that other question: In what manner should society be organized to abolish oppression, exploitation, misery and need, and to bring about the physical and mental welfare of individuals and of society as a whole? To us then, the woman question is only one phase of the general social question that at present occupies all intelligent minds; its final solution can only be attained by removing social extremes and the evils which are a result of such extremes.

Nevertheless, the woman question demands our special consideration. What the position of woman has been in ancient society, what her position is to-day and what it will be in the coming social order, are questions that deeply concern at least one half of humanity. Indeed, in Europe they concern a majority of organized society, because women constitute a majority of the population. Moreover, the prevailing conceptions concerning the development of woman's social position during successive stages of history are so faulty, that enlightenment on this subject has become a necessity. Ignorance concerning the position of woman, chiefly accounts for the prejudice that the woman's movement has to contend with among all classes of people, by no means least among the women themselves. Many even venture to assert that there is no woman question at all, since woman's position has always been the same and will remain the same in the future. because nature has destined her to be a wife and a mother and to confine her activities to the home. Everything that is beyond the four narrow walls of her home and is not closely connected with her domestic duties, is not supposed to concern her.

In the woman question then we find two contending parties, just as in the labor question, which relates to the position of the workingman in human society. Those who wish to maintain everything as it is, are quick to relegate woman to her so-called "natural profession," believing that they have thereby settled the whole matter. They do not recognize that millions of women are not placed in a position enabling them to fulfill their natural function of wifehood and motherhood, owing to reasons that we shall discuss at length later on. They furthermore do not recognize that to millions of other women their "natural profession" is a failure, because to them marriage has become a yoke and a condition of slavery, and they are obliged to drag on their lives in misery and despair. But these wiseacres are no more concerned by these facts than by the fact that in various trades and professions millions of women are exploited far beyond their strength, and must slave away their lives for a meagre subsistence. They remain deaf and blind to these disagreeable truths, as they remain deaf and blind to the misery of the proletariat, consoling themselves and others by the false assertion that it has always been thus and will always continue to be so. That woman is entitled, as well as man, to enjoy all the achievements of civilization, to lighten her burdens, to improve her condition, and to develop all her physical and mental qualities, they refuse to admit. When, furthermore, told that woman—to enjoy full physical and mental freedom—should also be economically independent, should no longer depend for subsistence upon the good will and favor of the other sex, the limit of their patience will be reached. Indignantly they will pour forth a bitter endictment of the "madness of the age" and its "crazy attempts at emancipation." These are the old ladies of both sexes who cannot overcome the narrow circle of their prejudices. They are the human owls that dwell wherever darkness prevails, and cry out in terror whenever a ray of light is cast into their agreeable gloom.

Others do not remain quite as blind to the eloquent facts. They confess that at no time woman's position has been so unsatisfactory in comparison to general social progress, as it is at present. They recognize that it is necessary to investigate how the condition of the self-supporting woman can be improved; but in the case of married women they believe the social problem to be solved. They favor the admission of unmarried women only into a limited number of trades and professions. Others again are more advanced and insist that competition between the sexes should not be limited to the inferior trades and professions, but should be extended to all higher branches of learning and the arts and sciences as well. They demand equal educational opportunities and that women should be admitted to all institutions

of learning, including the universities. They also favor the appointment of women to government positions, pointing out the results already achieved by women in such positions, especially in the United States. A few are even coming forward to demand equal political rights for women. Woman, they argue, is a human being and a member of organized society as well as man, and the very fact that men have until now framed and administered the laws to suit their own purposes and to hold woman in subjugation, proves the necessity of woman's participation in public affairs.

It is noteworthy that all these various endeavors do not go beyond the scope of the present social order. The question is not propounded whether any of these proposed reforms will accomplish a decisive and essential improvement in the condition of women. According to the conceptions of bourgeois, or capitalistic society, the civic equality of men and women is deemed an ultimate solution of the woman question. People are either unconscious of the fact, or deceive themselves in regard to it, that the admission of women to trades and industries is already practically accomplished and is being strongly favored by the ruling classes in their own interest. But under prevailing conditions woman's invasion of industry has the detrimental effect of increasing competition on the labor market, and the result is a reduction in wages for both male and female workers. It is clear then, that this cannot be a satisfactory solution.

Men who favor these endeavors of women within the scope of present society, as well as the bourgeois women who are active in the movement, consider complete civic equality of women the ultimate goal. These men and women then differ radically from those who, in their narrow-mindedness, oppose the movement They differ radically from those men who are actuated by petty motives of selfishness and fear of competition, and therefore try to prevent women from obtaining higher education and from gaining admission to the better paid professions. But there is no difference of class between them, such as exists between the worker and the capitalist.

If the bourgeois suffragists would achieve their aim and would bring about equal rights for men and women, they would still fail to abolish that sex slavery which marriage, in its present form, is to countless numbers of women; they would fail to abolish prostitution; they would fail to abolish the economic dependence of wives. To the great majority of women it also remains a matter of indifference whether a few thousand members of their sex, belonging to the more favored classes of society, obtain higher learning and enter some learned profession, or hold a public office.

The general condition of the sex as a whole is not altered thereby.

The female sex as such has a double yoke to bear. Firstly, women suffer as a result of their social dependence upon men, and the inferior position alloted to them in society; formal equality before the law alleviates this condition, but does not remedy it. Secondly, women suffer as a result of their economic dependence, which is the lot of women in general, and especially of the proletarian women, as it is of the proletarian men.

We see, then, that all women, regardless of their social position, represent that sex which during the evolution of society has been oppressed and wronged by the other sex, and therefore it is to the common interest of all women to remove their disabilities by changing the laws and institutions of the present state and social order. But a great majority of women is furthermore deeply and personally concerned in a complete reorganization of the present state and social order which has for its purpose the abolition of wage-slavery, which at present weighs most heavily upon the women of the proletariat, as also the abolition of sex-slavery, which is closely connected with our industrial conditions and our system of private ownership.

The women who are active in the bourgeois suffrage movement, do not recognize the necessity of so complete a transformation. Influenced by their privileged social position, they consider the more radical aims of the proletarian woman's movement dangerous doctrines that must be opposed. The class antagonism that exists between the capitalist and working class and that is increasing with the growth of industrial problems, also clearly manifests itself then within the woman's movement. Still these sister-women, though antagonistic to each other on class lines, have a great many more points in common than the men engaged in the class struggle, and though they march in separate armies they may strike a united blow. This is true in regard to all endeavors pertaining to equal rights of woman under the present social order; that is, her right to enter any trade or profession adapted to her strength and ability, and her right to civic and political equality. These are, as we shall see, very important and very far-reaching aims. Besides striving for these aims, it is in the particular interest of proletarian women to work hand in hand with proletarian men for such measures and institutions that tend to protect the working woman from physical and mental degeneration, and to preserve her health and strength for a normal fulfillment of her maternal functions. Furthermore, it is the duty of the proletarian woman to join the men of her class in the struggle for a thorough-going transformation of society,

to bring about an order that by its social institutions will enable both sexes to enjoy complete economic and intellectual independence.

Our goal then is, not only to achieve equality of men and women under the present social order, which constitutes the sole aim of the bourgeois woman's movement, but to go far beyond this, and to remove all barriers that make one human being dependent upon another, which includes the dependence of one sex upon the other. *This* solution of the woman question is identical with the solution of the social question. They who seek a complete solution of the woman question must, therefore, join hands with those who have inscribed upon their banner the solution of the social question in the interest of all mankind—the Socialists.

The Socialist Party is the only one that has made the full equality of women, their liberation from every form of dependence and oppression, an integral part of its program; not for reasons of propaganda, but from necessity. *For there can be no liberation of mankind without social independence and equality of the sexes.*

All Socialists will probably agree with the fundamental principles herein expressed. But the same cannot be said in regard to the manner in which we picture the realization of our ultimate aims, that is, in regard to the particular form that institutions should take to bring about that desired independence and equality for all. As soon as we forsake the firm foundation of reality, and begin to depict the future, there is a wide field for speculation. A difference of opinion immediately arises as to what is probable or improbable. Whatever, therefore, is stated in this book concerning future probabilities, must be regarded as the personal opinion of the author, and eventual attacks must be directed against his person, because he assumes full responsibility for his statements. Attacks, that are honestly meant and are objective in character, will be welcome; those that distort the contents of this book or are founded upon an untruthful interpretation of their meaning, will be ignored. It remains to be said, that in the following chapters all conclusions should be drawn which become necessary for us to draw, as a result of our investigation of facts. To be unprejudiced is the first requirement for a recognition of the truth, and only by expressing without reserve that which is and that which is to be, can we attain our ends.

CHAPTER I.

The Position of Woman in Primeval Society.

1.—Chief Epochs of Primeval History.

IT is the common lot of woman and worker to be oppressed. The forms of oppression have differed in successive ages and in various countries, but the oppression itself remained. During the course of historic development the oppressed ones have frequently recognized their oppression, and this recognition has led to an amelioration of their condition; but it remained for our day to recognize the fundamental causes of this oppression, both in regard to the woman and in regard to the worker. It was necessary to understand the true nature of society and the laws governing social evolution, before an effective movement could develop for the purpose of abolishing conditions that had come to be regarded as unjust. But the extent and profoundness of such a movement depend upon the amount of insight prevailing among those strata of society affected by the unjust conditions, as also upon the freedom of action possessed by them. In both respects woman, owing to custom, education and lack of freedom, is less advanced than the worker. Moreover, conditions that have prevailed for generations finally become a habit, and heredity as well as education make them appear "natural" to both parties concerned. That explains why women accept their inferior position as a matter of course, and do not recognize that it is an unworthy one, and that they should strive to obtain equal rights with men, and to become equally qualified members of society.

But whatever similarities exist between the position of woman and that of the workingman, woman has one precedence over the workingman. **She is the first human**

being which came into servitude. Women were slaves before men.

All social dependence and oppression is rooted in the economic dependence of the oppressed upon the oppressor. Woman—so we are taught by the history of human development—has been in this position since an early stage.

Our understanding of this development is comparatively recent. Just as the myth of the creation of the world, as taught by the Bible, could not be maintained in face of innumerable and indisputable facts founded upon modern, scientific investigation, it also became impossible to maintain the myth of the creation and development of man. Not all phases of the history of evolution have as yet been elucidated. Difference of opinion still exists among scientists in regard to one or another of the natural phenomena and their relation to each other; but, on the whole, clearness and a general consension of opinion prevails. It is certain that man has not made his appearance upon the earth as a civilized being—as the Bible asserts of the first human pair—but that in the long course of ages he gradually evolved from a mere animal condition, and that he passed through various stages during which his social relations as well as the relations between man and woman experienced many transformations.

The convenient assertion that is resorted to daily by ignorant or dishonest people, both in regard to the relation between man and woman as also in regard to the relation between the rich and the poor—the assertion that it has always been thus and will always continue to be so—is utterly false, superficial and contrary to the truth in every respect.

A cursory description of the relations of the sexes since primeval days is of special importance for the purpose of this book. For it seeks to prove that, if in the past progress of human development, these relations have been transformed as a result of the changing methods of production and distribution, it is obvious that a further change in the methods of production and distribution must again lead to a new transformation in the

relation of the sexes. Nothing is eternal, either in nature or in human life; change is the only eternal factor.

As far as we can look backward along the line of human evolution, we see the horde* representing the first human community. Only when the horde increased in numbers to such an extent that it became difficult to obtain the necessary means of subsistence, which originally consisted of roots, seeds and fruit, a disbanding of the members resulted, and new dwelling places were sought for.

We have no written records of this almost animal-like stage, but studies of the various stages of civilization among extinct and living savages prove that such a stage has at one time existed. Man has not stepped into life as a highly civilized being, upon a command from the Creator, but has passed through a long, infinitely slow process of evolution, and in the ups and downs of wavering periods of development, and in a constant process of differentiation, in all climes and in all quarters of the globe, has passed through many stages until finally climbing the height of his present civilization.

And while in some parts of the globe great nations represent the most advanced stage of civilization, we find other peoples in various places representing varied stages of development. These present to us a vivid picture of our own past, and point out to us along which roads humanity has traveled in its long course of evolution. If we shall at some time succeed in establishing general and definite aspects according to which sociological investigations shall be conducted, an abundance of facts will result, destined to cast a new light upon the relations of men in the past and the present. Events will then seem comprehensible and natural, that at pres-

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*"The theory of natural rights and the doctrine of the social contract, which places an isolated human being at the beginnings of human development, is an invention utterly foreign to reality, and is therefore worthless for the theoretical analysis of human institutions as it is for a knowledge of history. Man should, on the contrary, be classed with gregarious animals; that is, with those species whose individuals are combined into permanent groups."—(Edw. Meyer: "The Origin of the State, in Its Relation to Tribal and National Association." 1907.)

ent are quite beyond our comprehension, and that superficial critics frequently condemn as irrational, sometimes even as immoral. Scientific researches, commenced by Backofen, and since continued by a considerable number of learned men as Taylor, MacLennon, Lubbock and others, have gradually lifted the veil from the earliest history of our race. These investigations were elaborated by Morgan's able book, and to this again Frederick Engels has added a number of historic facts, economic and political in character. Recently these researches have been partly confirmed and partly corrected by Cunow.*

The clear and vivid descriptions given by Frederick Engels in his splendid work, that is founded upon Morgan's investigations, have cast a flood of light upon many factors in the histories of peoples representing various stages of development; factors that until that time had seemed irrational and incomprehensible. They have enabled us to obtain an insight into the gradual upbuilding of the social structure. As a result of such insight we perceive that our former conceptions in regard to marriage, family and state, have been founded upon utterly false premises. But whatever has been proven concerning marriage, family and state, is equally true in regard to the position of woman, which, in the various stages of social development, has differed radically from what is supposed to be woman's "eternal" position.

Morgan divides the history of mankind—and this division is also adopted by Engels—into three chief epochs: savagery, barbarism and civilization. Each of the two earlier periods he subdivides into a lower, a

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*Backofen's book was published in 1861. It was entitled, "The Matriarchate; Studies of the Gynocratic Customs of the Old World in Their Religious and Legal Aspects." Publishers, Krais & Hoffmann, Stuttgart. Morgan's fundamental work, "Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization," was published in 1877 by Henry Holt & Co. "The Origin of the Family," by Frederick Engels, founded upon Morgan's investigations, was published by J. H. W. Dietz, Stuttgart, as was also "Relationship Organizations of the Australian Negro; a Contribution to the History of the Family," by Henry Cunow, which appeared in 1894.

medium and a higher stage, because these stages differ in regard to fundamental improvements in the method of obtaining the means of subsistence. Those changes which occur from time to time in the social systems of nations as a result of improved methods of production, Morgan considers one of the chief characteristics in the progress of civilization, which is quite in keeping with the materialistic conception of history as laid down by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Thus the lowest stage in the period of savagery represents the childhood of mankind. During this stage men still were tree-dwellers, and fruit and roots constituted their chief nourishment; but even then articulated language began to take form. The medium stage of savagery begins with the consumption of small animals such as fish, crabs, etc., for food, and with the discovery of fire. Men begin to manufacture weapons, clubs and spears made of wood and stone, and this means the inception of the hunt and probably also of war among neighboring hordes, who contended with one another for the sources of nourishment and the most desirable dwelling places and hunting grounds. At this stage also cannibalism appears, which is still met with among some tribes in Africa, Australia and Polynesia. The higher stage of savagery is characterized by the invention of the bow and arrow; the invention of the art of weaving; the making of mats and baskets from bast and reeds, and the manufacture of stone implements.

As the beginning of the lowest stage of barbarism, Morgan denotes the invention of pottery. Man learns the domestication of wild animals with the resultant production of meat and milk, and thereby obtains the use of hides, horns and furs for the most varied purposes. Hand in hand with the domestication of animals, agriculture begins to develop. In the western part of the world corn is cultivated; in the eastern part, almost all kinds of grain, with the exception of corn, is grown. During the medium stage of barbarism we find an increasing domestication of useful animals in the East, and in the West we find an improved cultivation of nourishing plants with the aid of artificial irrigation. The use of

stones and sun-dried bricks for building purposes is also originated at this time. Domestication and breeding favor the formation of herds and flocks and lead to a pastoral life, and the necessity of producing larger quantities of nourishment for both men and animals leads to increased agriculture. The result is a more sedentary mode of life with an accompanying increase in provisions and greater diversity of same, and gradually cannibalism disappears.

The higher stage of barbarism has been reached with the smelting of iron ore and the invention of alphabetical writing. The invention of the iron plough gives a new impetus to agriculture; the iron axe and spade and hoe make it easier to clear the forest and to cultivate the soil. With the forging of iron a number of new activities set in, giving life a different shape. Iron tools simplify the building of houses, ships and wagons. The malleation of metals furthermore leads to mechanical art, to an improvement in the manufacture of arms, and to the building of walled cities. Architecture is developed, and mythology, poetry and history are conserved and disseminated by means of alphabetical writing.

The Oriental countries and those situated about the Mediterranean Sea—Egypt, Greece and Italy—are the ones in which this mode of life was especially developed, and here the foundation was laid to later social transformations that have had a decisive influence upon the development of civilization in Europe and, in fact, in all the countries of the globe.

2.—Family Forms.

The periods of savagery and barbarism were characterized by singular social and sex relations, that differ considerably from those of later times.

Backofen and Morgan have thoroughly investigated these relations. Backofen carried on his investigations by a profound study of ancient writings, with the purpose of gaining an understanding of various phenomena presented in mythology and ancient history, that impress us strangely and yet show similarity with facts and

occurrences of later days, even down to the present time. Morgan carried on his investigations by spending decades of his life among the Iroquois Indians in the State of New York, whereby he made new and unexpected observations of the modes of family life and system of relationship prevailing among them, and these observations served as a basis to place similar observations, made elsewhere, in the proper light.

Backofen and Morgan discovered, independently from one another, that in primeval society the relations of the sexes differed vastly from those prevalent during historic times and among modern, civilized nations. Morgan discovered, furthermore, as a result of his long sojourn among the Iroquois of North America, and his comparative studies to which these observations led him, that all existing primitive peoples have family relations and systems of relationship that differ markedly from our own, but which must have prevailed generally among all peoples at a remote period of civilization.

At the time when Morgan lived among the Iroquois, he found that among them existed a monogamous marriage, easily dissolved by either side, termed by him the "pairing family." But he also found that the terms of relationship as father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, although there could be no doubt in our minds as to whom such terms should apply, were not used in their ordinary sense. The Iroquois addresses as sons and daughters not only his own children, but also those of all his brothers, and these—his brothers' children—call him father. On the other hand, the Iroquois woman does not only call her own children sons and daughters, but also those of all her sisters, and again all her sisters' children call her mother. But the children of her brothers she calls nephews and nieces, and these call her aunt. Children of brothers call one another brothers and sisters, and so do children of sisters. But the children of a woman and her brother call each other cousins. The curious fact then presents itself that the terms of relationship are not determined by the actual degrees of relationship, but the sex of the relative.

This system of kinship is not only fully accepted by

all American Indians as well as by the aborigines of India, the Dravidian tribes of Deckan and the Gaura tribes of Hindostan, but similar systems must have existed everywhere primarily, as has been proven by investigations that were undertaken since those of Backofen. When these established facts shall be taken as a basis for further investigations among living savage or barbaric tribes, similar to the investigations made by Backofen among various peoples of the ancient world, by Morgan among the Iroquois and by Cunow among the Australian Negroes, it will be shown that social and sex relations constituted the foundation for the development of all nations of the world.

Morgan's investigations have revealed still other interesting facts. While the "pairing family" of the Iroquois is in contradiction to the terms of relationship employed by them, it was shown that in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) there existed up to the first half of the nineteenth century a family form which actually corresponded to that system of kinship that among the Iroquois existed only in name. But the Hawaiian system of kinship again did not agree with the family form prevailing there at the time, but pointed to another form of the family, still more remote, and no longer in existence. There all the children of brothers and sisters, without exception, were regarded as brothers and sisters, and were considered the common children, not only of their mother's and her sisters' or their father's and his brothers', but of all the brothers and sisters of both their parents.

The Hawaiian system of kinship then corresponded to a degree of development that was still lower than the prevailing family form. We are thus confronted by the peculiar fact, that in Hawaii as among the North American Indians, two different systems of kinship were employed that no longer corresponded to existing conditions, but had been superseded by a higher form. Morgan expresses himself on this phenomenon in the following manner: "The family is the active element; it is never stationary, but progresses from a lower to a higher form in the same measure in which society develops from

a lower to a higher stage. But the systems of kinship are passive. Only in long intervals they register the progress made by the family in course of time, and only then are they radically changed when the family has done so."

The prevalent conception that the present family form has existed since times immemorial and must continue to exist lest our entire civilization be endangered—a conception that is vehemently defended by the upholders of things as they are—has been proven faulty and untenable by the researches of these scientists. The study of primeval history leaves no doubt as to the entirely different relation of the sexes at an early period of human development from their present relation, and when viewed in the light of our present-day conceptions, they seem a monstrosity, a mire of immorality. But as each stage in social development has its own methods of production, thus each stage also has its own code of morals, **which is only a reflection of its social conditions.** Morals are determined by custom, and customs correspond to the innermost nature, that is, to the social necessities of any given period.

Morgan arrives at the conclusion that in the lowest stage of savagery unrestricted sexual intercourse existed within the tribe, so that all the women belonged to all the men and all the men belonged to all the women; that is, a condition of promiscuity. All men practice polygamy, and all women practice polyandry; there is a common ownership of wives and husbands as also a common ownership of the children. Strabo relates (66 B. C.) that among the Arabs brothers have sexual intercourse with their sisters and sons with their mothers. Incest was originally a requirement to make it possible for human beings to multiply. This explanation must especially be resorted to if we accept the biblical story of the origin of man. The Bible contains a contradiction in regard to this delicate subject. It relates that Cain, having killed his brother Abel, fled from the presence of the Lord and lived in the land of Nod. There Cain knew his wife and she conceived and bore a son unto him.

But whence came his wife? Cain's parents were the

first man and woman. According to the Hebrew tradition, two sisters were born to Cain and Abel, with whom they begot children. The Christian translators of the Bible appear to have suppressed this unpleasant fact. That promiscuity prevailed in a prehistoric stage, that the primeval horde was characterized by unrestricted sexual intercourse, is also shown in the Indian myth that Brama wedded his own daughter Saravasti. The same myth is met with among the Egyptians and in the Norse "Edda." The Egyptian god Ammon was the husband of his mother and boasted of the fact, and Odin, according to the "Edda" was the husband of his own daughter Frigga.* Dr. Adolf Bastian relates: "In Swaganwara the daughters of the Rajah enjoyed the privilege of freely choosing their husbands. Four brothers who settled in Kapilapur made Priya, the eldest of their five sisters, queen mother and married the others.**

Morgan assumes that from the state of general promiscuity, a higher form of sexual relation gradually developed, the consanguine family. Here the marriage groups are arranged by generations; all the grandfathers and grandmothers within a certain family are mutually husbands and wives; their children constitute another cycle of husbands and wives, and again the children of these when they have attained the proper age. In differentiation then from the promiscuity prevailing at the lowest stage, we here find one generation excluded from sexual intercourse with another generation. But brothers and sisters and cousins of the first, second and more remote grades are all brothers and sisters and also husbands and wives. This family form corresponds to the

*Dr. Ziegler, professor of zoology at the university of Freiburg, ridicules the idea of attaching any historical importance to myths. This conception only proves the biased judgment of the scientist. The myths contain a profound meaning, for they have sprung from the soul of the people and are founded upon ancient customs and traditions that have gradually disappeared but continue to survive in the myths glorified by the halo of religion. If facts are met with that explain the myth, there is good ground for attaching historical importance to the same.

**Dr. Adolf Bastian, "Travels in Singapore, Batavia, Manila and Japan."

system of kinship that during the first half of the last century still existed in Hawaii in name but no longer in fact. According to the American and Indian system of kinship, brother and sister can never be father and mother to the same child, but according to the Hawaiian system they may. The consanguine family also prevailed at the time of Herodotus among the Massagetes. Of these he wrote: "Every man marries a woman but all are permitted to have intercourse with her."* Similar conditions Backofen proves to have existed among the Lycians, Etruscans, Cretans, Athenians, Lesbians and Egyptians.

According to Morgan, the consanguine family is succeeded by a third, higher form of family relations, which he calls the "Punaluan family"—"punaluan" meaning "dear companion."

Morgan's conception that the consanguine family, founded upon the formation of marriage classes according to generations, which preceded the Punaluan family, was the original form of family life, is opposed by Cunow in his book referred to above. Cunow does not consider the consanguine family the most primitive form of sexual intercourse discovered, but deems it an intermediary stage leading to the true gentile organization, in which stage the generic classification in strata of different ages belonging to the so-called consanguine family, runs parallel for a while with the gentile order.** Cunow says, furthermore: The class division—every man and every woman bearing the name of their class and their totem—does not prevent sexual intercourse among relations on collateral lines, but it does prevent it among relations of preceding and succeeding lines, parents and children, aunts and nephews, uncles and nieces. Terms as uncle, aunt, etc., denote entire groups.

Cunow furnishes proof in regard to the points in

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*Backofen: "The Matriarchate."

**In the gentile order each gens has its totem, as lizard, opossum, emu, wolf, bear, etc., from which the gens derives its name. The totem animal is held sacred, and members of the gens may not kill it or eat its flesh. The significance of the totem was similar to that of the patron saint among the medieval guilds.

which he differs from Morgan. But though he differs from Morgan in many respects, he clearly defends him against the attacks of Westermarck and others. He says: "Although some of Morgan's theories may be proven to be incorrect, and others partly so, to him still is due the credit of having been the first to discover the identity existing between the totem-groups of the North American Indians and the gentile organizations of the Romans. He, furthermore, was the first to show that our present family form and system of relationship is the outcome of a lengthy process of evolution. We, therefore, are indebted to him for having made further research possible, for having laid the foundation upon which we may continue to build." In the introduction to his book he also states explicitly that his work is partly a supplement to Morgan's book on ancient society.

Westermarck and Starcke, to whom Dr. Ziegler especially refers, will have to accept the fact that the origin and evolution of the family are not in keeping with their bourgeois prejudices. Cunow's refutations should enlighten the most fanatical opponents of Morgan as to the value of their opposition.

3.—The Matriarchate.

According to Morgan, the Punaluan family begins with the exclusion of brothers and sisters on the mother's side. Wherever a woman has several husbands, it becomes impossible to determine paternity. Paternity becomes a mere fiction. Even at present, with the institution of monogamous marriage, paternity—as Goethe said in his "Apprenticeship," "depends upon good faith." But if paternity is dubious in monogamous marriage even, it is surely beyond the possibility of determination where polyandry prevails. Only descent from the mother can be shown clearly and undeniably; therefore, children, during the term of the matriarchate, were termed "spurii," seed. As all social transformations are consummated infinitely slow upon a low stage of development, thus also the transition from the consanguine family to the Punaluan family must have extended

through a great length of time, and many retrogressions must undoubtedly have occurred that could still be perceived in later days. The immediate, external cause for the development of the Punaluan family may have the necessity of dividing the greatly increased group for the purpose of finding new soil for agricultural purposes and for the grazing of herds. But it is also probable that with increasing development, people gradually came to understand the harmfulness and the impropriety of sexual intercourse between brother and sister and close relatives, and that this recognition led to a different arrangement of marriage relations. That this was the case is shown by a pretty legend that, as Cunow tells us, was related to Gason among the Dieyeris, a tribe of Southern Australia. This legend describes the origin of the "Murdu," the gentile organization, in the following manner:

"After the creation fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters and other closely related persons married indiscriminately among themselves, until the evil consequences of such marriages were clearly seen. Thereupon the leaders held a council to consider what could be done, and finally they begged Muramura, the great spirit, to bid them what to do. Muramura bade them divide the tribe into many branches and to name these after animals and inanimate objects to distinguish them from one another; for instance, Mouse, Emu, Lizzard, Rain, etc. The members of each group should not be permitted to marry among themselves, but should choose their mates from another group. Thus the son of an Emu should not marry the daughter of an Emu, but he might marry the daughter of a Mouse, a Lizard, a Rain, or any other family." This tradition is more plausible than the biblical one, and shows the origin of gentile organization in the simplest manner.

Paul Lafargue showed in an article published in the German periodical, "Neue Zeit," that names like Adam and Eva did not originally denote individual persons, but were the names of gentes in which the Jews were constituted in prehistoric days. By his argumentation Lafargue elucidates a number of otherwise obscure and con-

tradictory points in the first book of Moses. In the same periodical M. Beer calls attention to the fact that among the Jews a superstition still prevails according to which a man's mother and his fiancee must not have the same name, lest misfortune, disease and death be brought upon the family. This is a further proof of the correctness of Lafargue's conception. Gentile organization prohibited marriage between persons belonging to the same gens. According to the gentile conception, then, the fact that a man's mother and his fiancee had the same name, proved their belonging to the same gens. Of course, present-day Jews are ignorant of the connection existing between their superstition and the ancient gentile organization which prohibited such marriages. These prohibitory laws had the purpose of avoiding the evils resulting from close intermarriage, and though gentile organization among the Jews has gone out of existence thousands of years ago, we still see traces of the ancient tradition preserved. Early experiences in the breeding of animals may have led to a recognition of the dangers of inbreeding.

How far such experiences had been developed may be seen from the first book of Moses, chapter 30, 32 stanza, where it is told how Jacob cheated his father-in-law Laban by providing for the birth of spotted lambs and goats that were to be his, according to Laban's promise. Thus ancient Israelites were applying Darwin's theories in practice long before Darwin's time.

Since we are discussing conditions that existed among the ancient Jews, it will be well to quote a few further facts which prove that in antiquity maternal law actually prevailed among them. Although in the first book of Moses, 3, 16, is written in regard to woman: "And thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee," in the first book of Moses, 2, 24, we find the lines: "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife and they shall be one flesh." The same wording is repeated in Matthew, 19, 5; Mark, 10, 7, and in the epistle to the Ephesians, 5, 31. This command then is rooted in maternal law, for which

interpreters of the Bible had no explanation and, therefore, presented it incorrectly.

Maternal law is likewise shown to have existed in the fourth book of Moses, 32, 41. There it is said that Jair had a father of the tribe of Juda, but his mother came from the tribe of Manasseh, and Jair is explicitly called the son of Manasseh and became heir to that tribe. In Nehemiah, 7, 63, we find still another example of maternal law among the ancient Jews. There the children of a priest who married one of the daughters of Barzillai, a Jewish clan, are called the children of Barzillai. They are, accordingly, not called by their father's but by their mother's name.

In the Punaluan family, according to Morgan, one or more series of sisters of one family group married one or more series of brothers of another family group. A number of sisters or cousins of the first, second and more remote degrees were the common wives of their common husbands, who were not permitted to be their brothers. A number of brothers or cousins of various degrees were the common husbands of their common wives, who were not permitted to be their sisters. As inbreeding was thereby prohibited, this new form of marriage was favorable to higher and more rapid development, and gave those tribes that had adopted this family form an advantage over those who maintained the old form of sex relations.

The following system of kinship resulted from the Punaluan family: The children of my mother's sisters are her children, and the children of my father's brothers are his children, and all are my brothers and sisters. But the children of my mother's brothers are her nephews and nieces and the children of my father's sisters are his nephews and nieces, and all are my cousins. The husbands of my mother's sisters are still her husbands and the wives of my father's brothers are still his wives, but the sisters of my father and the brothers of my mother are excluded from the family group, and their children are my cousins.*

*Frederick Engels: "Origin of the Family."

With increasing civilization sexual intercourse among brothers and sisters is put under the ban, and this is gradually extended to all collateral relatives on the mother's side. A new consanguine family, the gens, is evolved that originally consists of natural and remote sisters and their children, together with their natural or remote brothers on the mother's side. The gens has a common ancestress to whom the groups of female generations trace their descent. The men do not belong to the gens of their wives, but to the gens of their sisters. But the children of these men belong to the gens of their mothers, because descent is traced from the mother. The mother is considered the head of the family. Thus the matriarchate was evolved that for a long time constituted the foundation of family relations and inheritance. While the maternal law prevailed, women had a voice and vote in the councils of the gens, they helped to elect the sachems and leaders and to depose them. When Hannibal formed an alliance with the Gauls against the Romans, he decided that in case disputes should arise among the allies, the Gallic matrons should be intrusted with the mission of arbitrating; so great was his confidence in their impartiality.

Of the Lycians who recognized maternal law Herodotus tells us: "Their customs are partly Cretan and partly Carian. But they have one custom that distinguishes them from all other nations in the world. If you ask a Lycian who he is, he will tell you his name, his mother's name, and so on in the line of female descent. Moreover, when a free woman marries a slave, her children remain free citizens. But if a man marries a foreign woman or takes unto himself a concubine, his children are deprived of all civic rights, even though he be the most eminent man in the state."

At that time "matrimonium" was spoken of instead of "patrimonium," "mater familias" was said instead of "pater familias," and one's native country was referred to as the motherland. Just as the earlier family forms, the gens was founded on the common ownership of property, that is, it was a communistic form of society. Woman was the leader and ruler in this kinship organiza-

tion and was highly respected, her opinion counting for much in the household as well as in the affairs of the tribe. She is peacemaker and judge, and discharges the duties of religious worship as priestess.

The frequent appearance of queens and women rulers in antiquity, and the power wielded by them even when their sons were the actual rulers, which was the case in Egypt, for instance, was an outcome of the matriarchate. During that period mythological characters are chiefly feminine, as seen from the godesses Astarte, Demeter, Ceres, Latona, Iris, Frigga, Freya, Gerda, and many others. Woman is invulnerable; matricide is deemed the most dreadful crime that calls upon all men for vengeance. It is the common duty of all the men of the tribe, to avenge an injury inflicted upon any member of their kinship by a member of any other tribe. Defense of the women incites the men to highest bravery. Thus the influence of the matriarchate was perceived in all social relations of the ancient peoples, among the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Greeks before the heroic age, the Italic tribes before the founding of Rome, the Scythians, the Gauls, the Iberians, the Cantabrians, the Germans, and others. At that time woman held a position in society as she has never held since. Tacitus says in his Germania": "The Germans believe that within every woman dwells something holy and prophetic; therefore they honor woman's opinion and follow her advice." Diodorus, who lived at the time of Cæsar, was quite indignant over the position of women in Egypt. He had heard that in Egypt not sons but daughters supported their aged parents. He therefore spoke disparagingly of the hen-pecked men at the Nile, who granted rights and privileges to the weaker sex that seemed outrageous to a Greek or a Roman.

Under maternal law comparatively peaceful conditions prevailed. Social relations were simple and narrow and the mode of life was a primitive one. The various tribes kept aloof from one another and respected each other's domain. If one tribe was attacked by another the men took up arms for defense and were ably supported by the women. According to Herodotus, the women of the

Scythians took part in battles; virgins—so he claims—were not permitted to marry until they had slain an enemy. Taken all in all, the physical and mental differences between man and woman were not nearly as great in primeval days as they are at present. Among almost all savage and barbarian tribes, the differences in the size and weight of brains taken from male and female individuals, are smaller than among civilized nations. Also the women of these tribes are not inferior to the men in physical strength and skill. Proof of this is furnished not only by the writers of antiquity in regard to peoples living under maternal law, but also by the Amazon regiments of the Ashantis and the King of Dahome in Western Africa, that excel in ferocity and courage. What Tacitus relates in regard to the women of the ancient Germans, and Cæsar's opinion of the women of the Iberians and the Scots, furnish additional proof. Columbus was attacked near Santa Cruz by a troop of Indians in a small sloop in which the women fought as bravely as the men. This conception is furthermore confirmed by Havelock Ellis: "Among the Audombies on the Congo, according to Mr. H. H. Johnstone, the women, though working very hard as carriers and as laborers in general, lead an entirely happy existence; they are often stronger than the men and more finely developed, some of them, he tells us, having really splendid figures. And Parke, speaking of the Manyuema of the Arruwimi in the same region, says that they are fine animals and the women very handsome; they carry loads as heavy as those of the men and do it quite as well. In North America again an Indian chief said to Hearne: Women were made for labor; one of them can carry or haul as much as two men can do. Schellong, who has carefully studied the Papuans in the German protectorate of New Guinea from the anthropological point of view, considers that the women are more strongly built than the men. In Central Australia again, the men occasionally beat the women through jealousy, but on such occasions it is by no means rare for the woman, single-handed, to beat the man severely. At Cuba, the women fought beside the men and enjoyed great independence. Among some

races of India, the Pueblos of North America, the Patagonians, the women are as large as the men. So among the Afghans, with whom the women in certain tribes enjoy a considerable amount of power. Even among the Arabs and Druses it has been noted that the women are nearly as large as the men. And among Russians the sexes are more alike than among the English or French.*

In the gens women sometimes ruled with severity, and woe to the man who was too lazy or too clumsy to contribute his share to the common sustenance. He was cast out and was obliged either to return to his own gens, where he was not likely to be received kindly, or to gain admission into another gens where he was judged less harshly.

That this form of matrimony has been maintained by the natives of Central Africa to this very day was experienced by Livingstone, to his great surprise, as related by him in his book, "Missionary Travels and Researches in Southern Africa." At the Zambesi he encountered the Balonda, a strong and handsome Negro tribe, engaged in agricultural pursuits, and was soon able to confirm the reports made to him by Portugiese, which he had at first declined to believe, that the women held a superior position among them. They are members of the tribal council. When a young man marries, he must migrate from his village into the one in which his wife resides. He must at the same time pledge himself to provide his mother-in-law with kindling wood for lifetime. The woman, in turn, must provide her husband's food. Although minor quarrels between man and wife occasionally occurred, Livingstone found that the men did not rebel against female supremacy. But he found, on the other hand, that when men had insulted their wives, they were severely punished—by their stomachs. The man—so Livingstone relates—comes home to eat, but is sent from one woman to another and is not given anything. Tired and hungry, he finally climbs upon a tree in the most populous part of the village and exclaims, with a woe-begone voice: "Hark, hark! I

*Havelock Ellis: "Man and Woman."

thought I had married women, but they are witches! I am a bachelor; I have not a single wife! Is that just and fair to a lord like myself?!"

CHAPTER II.

Conflict between Matriarchate and Patriarchate.

1.—Rise of the Patriarchate.

With the increase in population a number of sister gentes arose that again brought forth several daughter gentes. The mother gens was distinguished from these as the phratry. A number of phratries constituted the tribe. So strong was this social organization that it still constituted the unit of military organization in the states of anitquity, when the old gentile constitution had already been abandoned. The tribe was subdivided into several branches, all having a common constitution and in each of which the old gens could be recognized. But as the gentile constitution prohibited intermarriage among remote relatives even on the mother's side, it undermined its own existence. A social and economic development made the relation of the various gentes to one another more and more complicated, the interdict of marriage between certain groups became untenable and ceased to be observed. While production of the necessities of life was at its lowest stage of development, and destined to satisfy only the simplest demands, the activities of men and women were essentially the same. But with increasing division of labor there resulted not only a diversity of occupations, but a diversity of possessions as well. Fishing, hunting, cattle-breeding and agriculture, and the manufacture of tools and implements, ncessitated special knowledge, and these became the special province of the men. Man took the lead along these lines of development and accordingly became master and owner of these new sources of wealth.

Increasing population and the desire for an extensive ownership of land for agricultural and pastoral purposes,

led to struggles and battles over the possession of such land; it also led to a demand for labor-power. An increase in labor-power meant greater wealth in produce and flock. To procure such labor-power the rape of women was at first resorted to, and then the enslavement of vanquished men, who had formerly been killed. Thus two new elements were introduced into the old gentile constitution that were incompatible with its very nature.

Still another factor came into play. The division of labor and the growing demand for tools, implements, weapons, etc., led to a development of handicraft along distinct lines apart from agriculture. A special class of craftsmen arose, whose interests in regard to the ownership and inheritance of property diverged considerably from those of the agricultural class.

As long as descent was traced from female lineage, members of the gens became heirs to their deceased relatives on the mother's side. All property remained within the gens. Under the changed conditions the father had become owner of flocks and slaves, weapons and produce, but being a member of his mother's gens he could not will his property to his children, but had to leave same to his brothers and sisters or to his sisters' children. His own children were disinherited. A strong desire for changing this state of affairs therefore began to manifest itself, and it was changed accordingly. Polygamy and polyandry gave way to the pairing family. A certain man lived with a certain woman, and the children born from this relation were their children. These pairing families developed gradually, being hampered by the marriage interdicts of the gentile constitution, but favored by the above enumerated economic causes. The old household communities were not in keeping with the idea of private property. Class and occupation became determining factors in the choice of a place of residence. An increased production of commodities gave rise to commerce among neighboring and more widely separated nations and necessitated the development of finance. Man was the one to conduct and control this development. His private interests, therefore, were no longer harmonious to the old gentile organization; on the contrary,

they were frequently diametrically opposed to it. Therefore this organization became of less and less importance, and finally all that remained of the gens was the conducting of a number of religious rites within the family group. The economic significance was lost and the final dissolution of the gentile constitution only remained a question of time.

With the breaking up of the old gentile organization the power and influence of woman rapidly declined. The matriarchate disappeared and the patriarchate took its place. Man, being an owner of private property, had an interest in having legitimate children to whom he could will his property, and **he, therefore, forced upon woman the prohibition of intercourse with other men.**

But for himself he reserved the right of maintaining as many concubines as his means would permit beside his legitimate wife or wives, and their offspring were regarded as legitimate children. The Bible furnishes important evidence on this subject in two instances. In the first book of Moses, 16, 1 and 2, it says: "Sarai, Abram's wife, bore him no children; and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar. And Sarai said unto Abram: Behold now, the Lord hath restrained me from bearing; I pray thee, go in unto my maid; it may be that I may obtain children by her. And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai." The second noteworthy evidence is found in the first book of Moses, 30, 1; it reads as follows: "And when Rachel saw that she bore Jacob no children, Rachel envied her sister, and said unto Jacob: Give me children or else I die. And Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel and he said: Am I in God's stead who has withheld from thee the fruit of the womb? And she said: Behold my maid, Billah, go in unto her; and she shall bear upon my knees that I may also have children by her. And she gave him Billah, her handmaid, to wife, and Jacob went in unto her."

Thus Jacob was not only married to two sisters, the daughters of Laban, but both also gave him their handmaids to wives, a custom that was not immoral according to the moral conceptions of the time. His two chief wives he had married by purchase, having served their

father Laban seven years for each of them. At that time it was the general custom among the Jews to purchase wives, but besides they carried on a widespread robbery of women from nations conquered by them. Thus, for instance, the Benjamites robbed the daughters of Shiloh. The captured woman became a slave, a concubine. But she could be raised to the position of a legitimate wife, upon fulfillment of the following command: She had to cut her hair and nails and exchange the garments in which she was captured with others given to her by her captors. Thereupon she had to mourn for her father and mother during an entire month, her mourning being destined to signify that her people were dead to her. These regulations having been complied with, she could enter into wedlock. The greatest number of women were owned by King Solomon, who, according to the first book of Kings, chapter 11, had no less than 700 wives and 300 concubines.

As soon as the patriarchate, that is, paternal descent, was established in the gentile organization of the Jews, the daughters were excluded from inheritance. Later this rule was modified in cases when a father left no sons. This is shown in the fourth book of Moses, 27, 2-8. There it is told that when Zelophehad died without leaving sons, his daughters complained bitterly that they should be excluded from their father's inheritance that was to pass to the tribe of Joseph. Moses decides that in this case the daughters should be heirs to their father. But when, according to an old custom, they decide to choose husbands from another tribe, the tribe of Joseph complain that thereby they are losing an heritage. Thereupon Moses decides that the heiresses may choose freely, but that they must make their choice from among the men in their father's tribe. So it was in behalf of property that the old marriage laws were annulled. As a matter of fact, in the days of the old Testament, i. e., in historical times, the patriarchal system was prevalent among the Jews, and the clan and tribal organization were founded on descent in the male line, as was the case with the Romans. According to this system the daughters were excluded from inheritance. Thus we

read in the first book of Moses, 31, 14 and 15, the complaint of Lea and Rachel, daughters of Laban: "Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house? Are we not counted of him strangers? For he hath sold us and hath quite devoured also our money."

Among the ancient Jews, as among all other nations where the matriarchate was succeeded by the patriarchate, women were utterly devoid of rights. Marriage was a purchase of the woman. Absolute chastity was demanded of her; but not so of the man, who moreover was entitled to have several wives. If the man had cause to believe that the woman had lost her virginity prior to marriage, he was not only entitled to cast her off, she might also be stoned to death. The same punishment was meted out to the adulteress; but the man was subjected to the same punishment only then when he committed adultery with a Jewish matron. According to the first book of Moses, 24, 1—4, a man was entitled to cast off a woman he had just married if she found no favor in his eyes, even though his displeasure be only a whim. Then he might write her a bill of divorcement, give it in her hand and send her out of his house. A further proof of the degraded position of woman among the Jews may be gathered from the fact that to this day women attend services in the synagogue in a space separated from the men, and are not included in the prayer.* According to the Jewish conception, woman is not a member of the congregation; in religion and politics she is a mere cipher. When ten men are assembled they may hold services, but women are not permitted to do so, no matter how many of them are assembled.

In Athens, Solon decreed that a widow should marry her nearest relation on her father's side, even if both

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*In the oldest quarter of Prague is an old synagogue, built during the sixth century, the oldest synagogue in Germany. Upon descending about seven steps into the dusky chamber, the visitor beholds a row of small loop-holes on the opposite wall leading into an utterly dark room. Upon inquiry we are told by the guide that this is the woman's room where the women attended services. Modern synagogues are less gloomy, but the separation of men and women is still maintained.

belong to the same gens, although such marriages were forbidden by an earlier law. Solon likewise decreed that a person holding property need not will it to his gens but might, in case he were childless, will it to whomsoever he pleased. We see, then, that man, instead of ruling his property, is being ruled by it.

With the established rule of private property the subjugation of woman by man was accomplished. As a result of this subjugation, woman came to be regarded as an inferior being and to be despised. **The matriarchate implied communism and equality of all. The rise of the patriarchate implied the rule of private property and the subjugation and enslavement of woman.** The conservative Aristophanes recognized this truth in his comedy, "The Popular Assembly of Women," for he has the women introduce communism as soon as they have gained control of the state, and then proceeds to caricature communism grossly in order to discredit the women.

It is difficult to show how the details of this great transformation were accomplished. This **first great revolution** that took place in human society was not accomplished simultaneously among all the civilized nations of antiquity, and has probably not developed everywhere along the same lines. Among the tribes of Greece, the new order of things attained validity primarily in Athens.

Frederick Engels holds the opinion that this great transformation was brought about peaceably, and that, all preliminary conditions making such a change desirable being given, a mere vote on the matter in the gentes sufficed to put the patriarchal system in place of the matriarchal system. Backofen, on the other hand, believes—his opinion founded on ancient writers—that the women vehemently opposed this social transformation. He considers many myths of the Amazon kingdoms that are met with in the histories of Oriental countries, in South America and China, proofs of the struggle and opposition of women against the new order.

With the rise of male supremacy the women were deprived of their former position in the community. They were excluded from the council and lost their determining influence. Men compelled women to be faithful in

marriage without recognizing a similar duty on their part. When a woman is faithless, she commits the worst deception to which a citizen of the new order can fall a victim; she brings another man's children into his house to become the heirs of his property. That is why among all the ancient peoples adultery, when committed by a woman, was punishable by death or slavery.

Traces of the Matriarchate in Greek Myths and Dramas.

Although the women were thus deprived of their former influential position, the customs connected with the ancient cults continued to dominate the minds for centuries; only their deeper meaning was gradually lost, and it remained for the present time to investigate them. Thus it was customary in Greece that women appealed for advice and help to the goddesses only. The annual celebration of the Thermophoria clearly derived its origin from matriarchal times. Even in later days Greek women still celebrated this festival in honor of Demeter, which lasted for five days, and in which no man was allowed to participate. A festival of the same character was held annually in Rome in honor of Ceres. Demeter and Ceres were the goddesses of fecundity. In Germany, similar festivals were observed up to the Christian middle ages. These were consecrated to Frigga, the ancient German goddess of fecundity, and here also men were excluded from participation.

In Athens, the matriarchate had to make way to the patriarchate at an early period, but apparently not without strong opposition on the part of the women. The tragedy of the transformation is pathetically presented in the "Eumenides" by Aeschylus. The following is a synopsis of the story: Agamemnon, King of Mycenae, husband of Klytaemnestra, on his expedition to Troy, sacrifices his daughter Iphigeneia, in obedience to a command of the oracle. The mother is enraged over the sacrifice of her child that, in accordance with natural law, does not belong to her husband, and during Agamemnon's absence she accepts Aeghistus as her husband, thereby not committing any objectionable act according

to the ancient laws. When Agamemnon returns to Mycenae, after an absence of many years, he is murdered by Aeghistus, whom Klytaemnestra has incited to this deed. Orestes, son of Agamemnon and Klytaemnestra, upon a command from Apollo and Minerva, avenges his father's death by killing his mother and Aeghistus. The Eumenides, representing the old maternal law, prosecute Orestes for the murder of his mother. Apollo and Minerva —the latter, according to the myth, not having been born by a mother, since she sprang from the head of Zeus in full armor—defend Orestes, for they represent the new paternal law. The case is brought before the areopagus and the following dialogue ensues in which the two conflicting views are expressed:

Eumenides: The prophet (Apollo) bade thee then become a matricide?
Orestes: Aye; and I never yet my destiny regretted.
Eumenides: When judgment will be given thou wilt not speak thus.
Orestes: Perhaps. But from his grave my father will send aid.
Eumenides: What hopest from the dead thou, who hast killed thy *mother?*
Orestes: She had been guilty of a double, bloody crime.
Eumenides: How so? Explain unto the judges what you mean?
Orestes: She killed her husband and she thereby killed my father.
Eumenides: Her crime she expiated now, but you still live.
Orestes: Why did you fail to prosecute her while she lived?
Eumenides: *She was no blood relation to the man she killed.*
Orestes: But I, so you assert, am of my mother's blood.
Eumenides: Did she, thou bloody one, not bear thee 'neath her heart? Wouldst thou thy mother's sacred blood deny?

The Eumenides accordingly do not recognize the right of the father and husband. They proclaim maternal law. That Kleytaemnestra caused the murder of her husband seems unimportant to them, for he was a stranger to her. But they demand punishment of the matricide, for by killing his mother, Orestes committed the most unpardonable crime that could be committed under the dominance of the gentile organization. Apollo, on the other hand, holds the opposite point of view. Upon a command from Zeus he has induced Orestes to murder his own mother to avenge the patricide, and before the judges he thus defends the deed:

Then say I, listen ye unto my word of justice:
The mother is not procreatrix to her child;
She only the awakened life doth keep and bear.
The father is the procreator; she but keeps
The forfeit for her friend, unless a god destroy it
I will submit a proof that cannot be denied.
For one can have a father, yet no mother have.
Minerva, daughter of the great Olympian Zeus,
Within the darkness of a mother's womb ne'er rested,
And yet no goddess e'er gave birth to fairer offspring.

According to Apollo, then, procreation gives the father a superior right, while the view that had prevailed until then proclaimed the mother, who gives life to the child by her own blood, the child's sole possessor, and deemed the child's father a mere stranger to her. Therefore, the Euminedes reply to the views of Apollo:

Thou overthrowest forces of remotest days . . . .
Thou, the young god, wouldst us, the ancient ones, dethrone.

The judges prepare to pronounce their verdict; half of them favor the old law and the other half favor the new, giving an equal number of votes to both sides. There Minerva seizes a ballot from the altar and casting it into the urn she exclaims:

Mine is the right to utter final judgment here,
And for Orestes I cast in the urn this stone;
For unto me no mother was who gave me birth,
Therefore with all my heart all manly things I praise
Excepting marriage. For I am my father's quite.
Less criminal I deem the murder of this woman,
Because her husband she has killed, the home's maintainer.
Though even be the vote, Orestes is victorious.

Another myth depicts the fall of the matriarchate in the following manner: During the rule of Cecrops, a double miracle occurred. Simultaneously an olive-tree sprang from the earth at one place, and a well at another. The frightened king sent a messenger to Delphi to question the oracle concerning the meaning of these miracles. The reply was: The olive-tree represents Minerva, the water represents Neptune, and the citizens may decide after whom of the two deities they choose to name their city. Cecrops summoned the popular assembly, in which both men and women were entitled to vote. The men voted for Neptune, and the women for Minerva, and since

the women had a majority of one vote, Minerva was victorious. Thereupon Neptune became infuriated and let the sea flood the lands of the Athenians. To appease the fury of the god, the Athenians then inflicted threefold punishment upon their women. They were to be disfranchised, their children were no longer to bear their mother's name, and they themselves should no longer be called Athenians.*

Thus the new order was established. The father became the head of the family. The patriarchate conquered the matriarchate.

Legitimate Wives and Courtesans in Athens.

Just as the transition from the matriarchate to the patriarchate was accomplished in Athens, it was accomplished elsewhere as soon as a similar degree of development had been attained. Woman was restricted to her home and isolated in special rooms, known as "gynacontis," in which she dwelt. She even was excluded from social intercourse with the men who visited the house; in fact, this was the special object of her isolation. In the Odyssee we find this change in customs expressed. Thus Telemachus forbids his mother to be present among her suitors, and utters this command:

But go now to the home, and attend to thy household affairs;
To the spinning wheel and the loom, and bid thy maids be assiduous
At the task that to them were allotted. To speak is the privilege of men,
And mine is especially this privilege, for I am the lord of the house!**

This was the prevailing conception in Greece at the time. Even widows were subjected to the rulership of their nearest male relatives, and were not even free to choose a husband. Weary of the long waiting imposed upon them by the clever Penelope, the suitors send to Telemachus their spokesman, Antonioos, who thus voices their demand:

See now, the suitors inform thee that thou in thy heart mayest know it
And that all the Achæans may of the fact be informed.

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*Backofen: "The Matriarchate."
**Homer's "Odyssee."

Send thy mother hence, and command her to take as her husband
Whom she chooses to take, and whom her father selects.*

At this period woman's freedom has come to an end. When she leaves the house she must veil her face—not to waken the desires of some other man. In the Oriental countries where sexual passions are stronger, as a result of the hot climate, this method of isolation is still carried to the extreme. Among the ancients, Athens served as a pattern of the new order. The woman shares the man's bed, but not his table. She does not address him by his name, but calls him master; she is his servant. She was not allowed to appear in public anywhere, and when walking upon the streets was always veiled and plainly dressed. When she committed adultery she was, according to Solon's law, condemned to pay for her sin either with her life, or with her liberty. Her husband was entitled to sell her as a slave.

The position of Greek women of those days is powerfully expressed in Medea's lamentation:

"Of all creatures that have soul and life
We women are indeed the very poorest.
By our dowery we're obliged to purchase
A husband—and what then is far worse still,
Henceforward our body is his own.
Great is the danger; will his nature be
Evil or good? Divorce is to the woman
A deep disgrace. *Yet she may not say nay.*
Unto the man who was betrothed to her.
And when she comes to lands with unknown customs,
She has to learn—for no one teaches her—
To understand the nature of her husband.
And when we have succeeded in all this,
And our loved one gladly with us dwells,
Then our lot is fair. But otherwise
I'd rather far be dead.—Not so the man.
If in his home he is not satisfied,
He finds *outside the home* what pleases him,
With friends and with companions of his age;
But we must always seek to please but *one.*
They say that we in peace and safety dwell,
While they must go forth to the battlefield.
Mistaken thought! *I rather thrice would fight,*
Than only once give birth unto a child!"

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*Homer's "Odyssee."

Very different was the man's lot. While the man compelled the woman to abstain absolutely from relations with other men, for the purpose of insuring the legitimacy of his heirs, he was not inclined to abstain from relations with other women. Courtesanship developed. Women noted for their beauty and intellect, usually foreigners, preferred a free life in the most intimate association with men to the slavery of marriage. Nor was their life deemed a loathsome one. The name and the fame of these courtesans who associated with the foremost men of Greece and took part in their intellectual discussions and in their banquets, have come down to us through history, while the names of the legitimate wives are lost and forgotten. One of these was Aspasia, the friend of the famous Pericles, who later made her his wife. Phryne had intimate relations with Hyperides, and served Praxiteles, one of the foremost sculptors of Greece, as a model for his statue of Venus. Danae was the mistress of Epicure, Archæanassa was Plato's. Lais of Corynth, Gnethanea and others were equally famous courtesans. Every one of the famous Greeks had intercourse with these courtesans. It was part and parcel of their life. The great orator Demosthenes in his oration against Neaera thus characterized the sexual relations of Athenian men: "We marry women to have legitimate children and to have faithful guardians of our homes, we maintain concubines for our daily service and comfort, and courtesans for the enjoyment of love." The wife was only destined to bear offspring and, like a faithful dog, to guard her master's house. But the master himself lived to suit his pleasure. In many cases it is so still.

To satisfy the demand for mercenary women, especially among the younger men, prostitution developed, an institution that had not been known during the dominance of the matriarchate. Prostitution differs from free sexual intercourse by the fact that the woman yields her body in return for material gain, be it to one man or to a number of men. Prostitution exists wherever a woman makes the selling of her charms a trade. Solon, who formulated the new laws for Athens and is famed as the founder of these laws, introduced the public brothel,

the "deikterion." He decreed that the price should be the same to all visitors. According to Philemon this was one obolus, about 6 cents in American money. The "deikterion" was a place of absolute safety, like the temples in Greece and Rome and the Christian churches in the middle ages. It was under the immediate protection of the public authorities. Until about 150 B. C. the temple in Jerusalem was the general rallying-point of the prostitutes.

For the boon bestowed upon Athenian men by his founding of the "deikterion," one of Solon's contemporaries thus sings his praise: "Solon, be praised! For thou didst purchase public women for the welfare of the city, to preserve the morals of the city that is full of strong, young men, who, without thy wise institution, would indulge in the annoying pursuit of the better class women." We will see that in our own day exactly the same arguments are being advanced to justify the existence of prostitution and its maintenance as an institution sanctioned by the state. Thus the state laws approved of deeds committed by men as being their natural right, while the same deeds were branded as criminal and despicable when committed by women. It is a well-known fact that even to-day there are a great many men who prefer the company of a pretty offendress to the company of their wife and who, nevertheless, enjoy the reputation of being "pillars of society" and guardians of those sacred institutions, the family and the home. To be sure, the Greek women frequently seem to have taken vengeance upon their husbands for their oppression. If prostitution is the complement of monogamic marriage on the one hand, adultery of wives and cuckoldom of husbands are its complements on the other. Among the Greek dramatists, Euripides seems to have been the most pronounced woman-hater, since in his dramas he preferably holds up the women to ridicule and scorn. What accusations he hurls at them can best be seen from a passage in "The Thesmophoria" by Aristophanes, where a Greek woman assails him in the following manner:

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*"Comedies by Aristophanes."

With what calumny doth he (Euripides) not vilify us women?
When e'er hath silent been the slanderer's tongue?
Where there's an audience, tragedy and chorus,
We are described as man-mad traitoresses,
Fond of the cup, deceitful, talkative.
We're wholly bad, to men a tribulation.
Therefore, when from the play our husbands come,*
They look distrustfully at us and search about
If somewhere not a lover is concealed,
And henceforth we no longer are permitted
To do what harmlessly we did before.
Such wicked things he tells the men about us,
That when a woman only makes a garland,
They think she is in love; or when at home
She works about and dropping something, breaks it,
The husband promptly asks: "For whom this broken glass?
Quite evidently for the guest from Corinth."

It is not surprising that the eloquent Greek woman thus serves the defamer of her sex. But Euripides could hardly have made such accusations nor would they have found belief among the men, had it not been well known that they were justified. Judging by the final sentences of the above quoted harangue it seems that the custom, well known in Germany and other countries, whereby the master of the house honors his guest by placing his own wife or daughter at the guest's disposal, did not prevail in Greece. Of this custom, that was still observed in Holland in the fifteenth century, Murner says: "It is the custom in the Netherlands that whosoever hath a dear guest, unto him he giveth his wife in good faith."**

The increasing class struggle in the Greek states and the deplorable conditions that existed in many of these small communities led Plato to an investigation of the best constitution of the state and its institutions. In his "State," that he conceives as an ideal one, he demands that among the highest class of citizens, the guardians, women should hold a position of absolute equality. Like the men, they should take part in military exercises and should perform all civic duties, only should the lighter

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*The theatre, to which Greek women were not admitted.

**"German History of Manners and Civilization," by Johann Scherr. Sudermann deals with the same subject in his drama, "Honor."

tasks be alloted to them on account of the weakness of their sex. He holds that the natural abilities are the same with both sexes, that woman is only weaker than man. He further demands that the women should belong to all the men in common as should also the children, so that no father might know his child nor a child its father.*

The views of Aristoteles are more in keeping with the bourgeois conceptions. According to his "Politics," every woman should have the right of freely choosing her husband. She should be subservient to him, yet she should have the privilege of giving him good advice. Thucydides expresses a view that meets with the approval of all Philistines. He says: "To that wife is due the highest praise of whom one speaks neither well nor ill outside of her home."

While such views prevailed women were bound to sink lower and lower in the esteem of men. A fear of excess of population even led men to avoid intimate intercourse with women. An unnatural satisfaction of sexual desires was the result. The Greek states consisted mainly of cities having very limited landed property, and it therefore was impossible to maintain the population at their accustomed nourishment beyond a given number. This fear of excess of population caused Aristotle to advice the men to shun their wives and to indulge in sodomy instead. Before him Socrates had already extolled sodomy as a mark of superior culture. Finally the foremost men of Greece indulged in this unnatural passion. The esteem of woman sank to its lowest level. Bawdy houses containing male prostitutes were maintained, beside those containing female prostitutes. It was in such a social atmosphere that Thucydides could say of woman that she was worse than the sea raging in storm, worse than the fire's fierce glow and the mountain torrent's rushing stream. "If it is a god who invented woman, whoever he be, let him know that he is the nefarious originator of the greatest evil."

While the men of Greece practiced sodomy, the

*Plato: "The State."

women drifted into the opposite extreme, indulging in the love of their own sex. This was especially the case among the inhabitants of the island of Lesbos, wherefore this aberration was called Lesbian love and is still called so, since it is by no means extinct but continues to exist among us. The chief representative of this "love" was the celebrated poetess Sapho, "the Lesbian nightinggale," who lived about 600 B. C. Her passion is fervently expressed in her Ode to Venus:

"Thou who rulest all, upon flowers enthroned,
Daughter of Zeus born of foam, o thou artful one,
Hark to my call!
Not in anguish and bitter suffering, O goddess,
Let me perish!—"

Still more passionate is the sensuality expressed in the ode to the beautiful Athis.

While in Athens and other Greek states the patriarchal system prevailed, in Sparta, Athen's greatest rival, we still find the matriarchate, a condition which had become entirely foreign to most Greeks. Tradition has it that one day a Greek asked a Spartan how the crime of adultery was punished in Sparta; whereupon the Spartan replied: "Stranger, there are no adulterers in our midst." "But if there should be one?" quoth the stranger. "Then," said the Spartan mockingly, "his penalty would be to give an ox, so tall that he could stretch his neck acros the Taygetus and drink from the Eurotas." Upon the astonished query of the stranger how an ox could be so tall, the Spartan laughingly replied: "How can there be an adulterer in Sparta?!" The dignified self-consciousness of the Spartan women finds expression in the reply given to a stranger by the wife of Leonidas. The stranger said to her: "You Lacedemonian women are the only ones who rule over men." To this she replied: "And we are the only women who bring forth men."

The freedom enjoyed by women during the matriarchate heightened their beauty and increased their pride, their dignity and their self-reliance. There is a uniformity of opinion among ancient writers that these attributes were highly developed in women during the matriarchal period. The condition of servitude that fol-

lowed naturally had a deteriorating influence. The change is manifested even in the difference of dress that marks the two periods. The dress of the Doric woman hung loosely from her shoulders, leaving her arms and the lower part of her legs uncovered. It is the dress worn by Diana as she is represented in our museums, a free and daring figure. But the Ionic dress covers the figure completely and restrains the motions. The manner in which women dress was and is to this day a proof of their dependence and a cause of their helplessness to a far greater extent than is generally assumed. The style of dress worn by women to this day makes them clumsy and gives them a feeling of weakness that is expressed in their carriage and their character. The Spartan custom of permitting girls to go about naked until maturity—a custom that was made possible by the climate of the country—had the effect, so an ancient writer tells us, of teaching them simplicity of taste and regard for the care of their bodies. According to the views of the time, this custom did not shock the sense of decency or arouse physical passions. The girls also took part in all physical exercises just like the boys. Thus a strong, self-respecting race was reared, conscious of their worth, as is shown in the reply given to the stranger by the wife of Leonidas.

4—Remnants of the Matriarchate in the Customs of Various Nations.

Certain customs are closely linked with the vanished matriarchate that modern writers have erroneously termed "prostitution." In Babylon, for instance, it was a religious duty for young girls upon reaching maturity to go to the temple of Mylitta and there yield to some man, making a sacrifice of their virginity. Similar customs were observed in the Serapis of Memphis, in honor of the goddess Anaitis in Armenia, in Tyrus and Sydon in honor of Astarte or Venus. The Egyptian festivals of Iris were accompanied by the same religious rites. This sacrifice of virginity was deemed an atonement to the goddess for the exclusiveness of surrender to one man

in marriage. "For woman is not endowed with all the beauties nature has bestowed upon her, to fade in the arms of a single man. The law of substance condemns all restrictions, hates all fetters, and considers exclusiveness a crime against its divinity."* The continued good will of the goddess must be purchased by this sacrifice of virginity to a stranger. In conformity with this conception the Libyan maidens earned their dowery by their surrender. According to the matriarchate they enjoyed sexual liberty before marriage, and the men, far from taking offense at this pursuit, in choosing a wife gave preference to the girl who had been most desired. The same condition existed among the Thracians at the time of Herodotus. "They do not guard the maidens, but give them complete freedom to have relations with whomever they choose. But the married women are closely guarded. They buy them from their parents for a large portion." The Hierodules in the temple of Venus in Corynth were far famed. There more than a thousand girls were assembled, constituting the chief attraction for Greek men. Of the daughter of King Cheops of Egypt the legend relates, that she had a pyramid built from the proceeds obtained by the abandonment of her charms.

We still find similar conditions in existence in the Marquesas Islands, in the Philippines and Polynesia, and, according to Waitz, among various African tribes. Another custom, which was maintained on the Balearic Islands up to recent times and that expressed the right of all men to every woman, was that in the bridal night all the men related to the bride, were admitted to her successively in accordance with their ages. The groom came last. Among other peoples this custom has been changed to that effect, that one man representing the others, the high priest or chieftain of the tribe, exercises this privilege with the bride. The Claimars in Malabar engage putamares (priests) to deflour their wives. It is the duty of the chief priest (namburi) to render this service to the king (zamorin) upon his marriage, and the

*Backofen: "The Matriarchate."

king pays for it with fifty pieces of gold.* In India and on various islands of the Pacific either the priests or the tribal chiefs (kings) perform this office.** It is the same in Senegambia, where the tribal chief practices the defloration of virgins as one of his official duties and receives presents in return. Among other peoples the defloration of the virgin—sometimes even of female babies—is accomplished by idols constructed for this purpose. We may assume that the "jus primae noctis" (right of the first night), which was in practice in Europe until far into the middle ages, derived its origin from the same tradition. The landlord, considering himself master over his serfs, practiced the right of the tribal chief that had come down to him. We will return to this subject later on.

Remnants of the matriarchate are also seen in a peculiar custom of South American tribes, that has likewise been met with among the Basques, a people that have preserved many ancient customs and practices. Here the father takes to his bed, instead of the mother, after the birth of a child, feigns being in labor-pain, and lets the woman care for him. The custom designates that the father recognizes the newly born child as his own. The same custom is said to exist among several tribes of mountaineers in China, and it existed until a recent date in Corsica.

In the records of German colonies submitted to parliament (during its session 1904-05) there is a report of the South-West-African region that contains the following passage: "The tribal chief in a Herero village cannot decide upon the slightest matter without the advice of his council, and not only the men but generally **the women also** give their advice." In the report of the Marshall Islands it says: Rulership over all the islands of the Marshall groups was never concentrated upon a single chief . . . . **but as there is no female member of this class (The Irody) living, and the child inherits nobility and station from the mother only, The Irodies will be-**

*K. Kautsky: "Origin of Marriage and the Family. Kosmos, 1883.

**Mantagazza: "Love in Human Society."

come extinct with the death of their chiefs." The manner of expression and description used by the informants shows how utterly foreign the conditions they describe are to them and that they fail to understand them.*

Dr. Henry Weislocky, who for many years lived among the Gypsies of Transylvania and finally was adopted into one of their tribes, reports,** that two of the four tribes in whose midst he lived, the Ashani and the Ishale, observed maternal law. If the migratory Gipsy marries, he enters the clan of his wife, and to her belong all the furnishings of the Gipsy household. Whatever wealth she has belongs to her and to her clan, the man is a stranger. In accordance with maternal law the children also remain in their mother's clan. Even in modern Germany remnants of the matriarchate survive. The "Westdeutsche Rundschau" (published in Westphalia) reports in the issue of June 10, 1902, that in the parish of Haltern the laws of inheritance were still subject to the old

*Similar conditions are still met with in Camerun and in other parts of Western Africa. A German naval surgeon who studied the land and people from his own observations sends us the following information: "Among a great many tribes the right of inheritance is founded on maternity. Paternity is a matter of indifference, only children of the same mother consider one another brothers and sisters. A man does not will his property to his own children, but to his sisters' children, his nephews and nieces, who can be shown to be his nearest blood relations. A chief of the Way tribe explained to me in broken English: 'My sister and I surely are blood relations, for we are children of the same mother. My sister again surely is the blood relation of her son. So her son is my heir, and when I die he will be king of my town.' 'And your father?' I asked. 'I do not know what that is, my father,' he replied. When I then went on to ask him whether he had no children of his own, he was convulsed with laughter and replied that with them not men but only women had children. I can assure you," our informant goes on to say, "that even the heir of King Bell in Camerun is not his son, but his nephew. The children of Bell, many of whom are being trained in German cities, are but the children of his wives, while their fathers are unknown. One of them I might lay claim to myself."—How are the people who deny the existence of maternal law impressed by this description of present-day conditions?! Our informant is a keen observer who goes to the bottom of things. But few who live among these savages do so. Therefore we are given such false descriptions of the alleged "immorality" of the natives.

**H. v. Weislocky: "Sketches of the Life of the Transylvanian Gypsies."

maternal law of the gentes. The children inherit from their mother. Until now all attempts at reforming this antiquated custom had failed.

How little the present family form and monogamic marriage can be regarded as eternal or exceedingly ancient, can furthemore be gathered from the wide-spread existence of marriage by purchase, marriage by rape, polygamy and polyandry. In Greece, too, woman became an article of purchase. As soon as she entered the house of her lord and master she ceased to exist for her family. This was symbolically expressed by burning before her husband's house the gaily decorated carriage that had brought her there. Among the Ostiaks in Siberia the father still sells his daughter and bargains with the envoys of the groom over the sum that is to be paid. Among several African tribes the custom still exists—as in Jacob's day—that a man wooing a maiden enters the service of his prospective mother-in-law. Marriage by purchase still exists in our very midst, in fact, in bourgeois society it is more generally established than at any other time. The money marriages, so prevalent among our propertied classes, are nothing more than marriage by purchase. As a symbol of the purchase whereby the woman becomes the man's property, the bridal gift, which it is customary for the man to give his fiancee, may also be regarded.

Beside marriage by purchase we find marriage by rape. Robbery of women was practiced not only by the ancient Jews, but practically by all nations of antiquity. The best-known historical example is the rape of the Sabines, by the Romans. Robbery of women became the custom quite naturally wherever women were scarce or where polygamy existed, as everywhere in the Orient. There especially this custom was wide-spread during the duration of the Arabian realm from the seventh to the twelfth century before Christ.

In a symbolical way marriage by rape is still practised among the Araunanians in the southern part of Chile. While the would-be bridegroom's friends bargain with the girl's father, the man himself slinks about the house and tries to catch the girl. As soon as he has grasped

her he lifts her on his horse and carries her away toward the forest. Thereupon men, women and children set up a loud clamor and try to prevent the flight. But as soon as the man has succeeded in reaching the shelter of the forest the woman is considered his wife. This is the case even if the robbery was perpetrated against the parents' will. Similar customs are met with among Australian tribes.

Among civilized nations the custom of wedding journeys still serves as a reminder of the ancient rape of women; the bride is abducted from her paternal hearth. In the same way the exchange of wedding rings is a symbol of the old submissiveness of woman and her being chained to the man. This custom originated in Rome. The bride received an iron ring from her husband to signify that she was chained to him. Later on this ring was made of gold, and much later still the exchange of rings was introduced to signify the mutual bond.

Polygamy has existed and still exists among the Orientals; but owing to the limited number of women that are at a man's disposal, and owing to the expense of their maintenance, it is at present practised only by the privileged and propertied classes. The counter-part of polygamy is polyandry. This is found especially among the mountaineers of Thibet, the Garras living at the boundary of India and China, the Baigas in Godwana, the Nairs in the southernmost part of India, and also among the Eskimos and Aleuts. Descent is determined on the mother's side—as must needs be the case—and the children belong to her. The woman's husbands usually are brothers. If an oldest brother marries, the other brothers thereby become husbands to his wife. But she has the right to take other husbands beside these. The men also are entitled to several wives. From what conditions polyandry sprang is as yet unexplained. As the tribes practising polyandry without exception live either in mountainous regions of a high altitude or in the frigid zone, polyandry may perhaps be explained by a phenomenon that Tarnowsky has pointed out.* Tar-

*Tarnowsky: "Pathological Phenomena of Sexual Desire."

nowsgy was told by reliable travelers that a lengthy sojourn on high altitudes greatly diminishes sexual desire, which reawakens with renewed vigor upon descending. This diminution of sexual desire, so Tarnowsky believes, might explain the slow increase in population in mountainous regions, and by becoming hereditary might be one of the symptoms of degeneration leading to perversity.

Continuous living in high altitudes or in frigid zones might in the same manner signify that polyandry did not make extraordinary demands on women. Women themselves are influenced accordingly by their nature, since among Eskimo girls menstruation, as a rule, does not set in until the nineteenth year, while in the torrid zone it sets in with the ninth or tenth year, and in the temperate zone between the fourteenth and sixteenth year. It is generally known that hot countries have a stimulating effect upon sexual desire; that is why polygamy is especially prevalent in hot countries. In the same way cold lands, and high altitudes having a similar climate, may have a restrictive influence. It is also a matter of experience that conception is less frequent when a woman has cohabitation with several men. The increase in population is, therefore, weak where polyandry exists, and is adapted to the difficulty of obtaining food in cold climes and high altitudes. This goes to show that even in regard to this strange custom of polyandry, the relations of the sexes are in the last instance determined by the methods of production. It still remains to be investigated whether the frequent killing of female infants is practised among the tribes living in mountainous regions or in the frigid zone, as has been reported of Mongolian tribes living in the mountainous regions of China.

5.—Rise of the State.—Dissolution of the Gens in Rome.

After the dissolution of the matriarchal gens, the patriarchal gens took its place with considerably diminished functions. The chief function of the patriarchal gens was the strict observation of common religious and funeral rites and mutual aid and protection. It entailed

the right, and sometimes the duty, to marry within the gens; the latter being the case especially in regard to rich heiresses and orphans. The gens also controlled all the remaining common property.

With the rise of private property and the right of inheritance connected with it, class distinctions and class antagonism came into existence. In the course of time the propertied members made common cause against the propertyless ones. The former sought to gain control of the administrative positions and to make them hereditary. Finance had become a necessity and entailed conditions of indebtedness that had previously been unknown. Struggles against external enemies, internal conflicts of interest, and the varied interests and relations created by agriculture, industry and trade, necessitated a complicated system of laws and the formation of public bodies destined to keep the social machine in orderly motion and to settle disputes. The same was true concerning the relations of masters and slaves, debtors and creditors. Thus a power was needed to control all these relations, to conduct, regulate, arbitrate, protect and punish. **The state came into existence as a necessary product of the new social order based on conflicting interests.** Its direction naturally was assumed by those who had the greatest interest in its founding and who, thanks to their social power, were most influential: **the propertied classes.** Thus aristocracy of wealth and democracy opposed one another, even where complete equality of political rights was maintained.

During the old matriarchal system no written law existed. Conditions were simple and custom was hallowed. In the new, far more complicated order, written law became one of the urgent necessities and special officials were needed for its administration. But as the legal relations became more and more complicated, a special class of persons arose, devoted exclusively to the study of law and having a special interest in still further complicating them. The jurists, the lawyers, came into existence, and owing to the importance of the law to the body social, they soon became one of the most influential estates. The new civic jurisprudence in the course of

time found its most classic expression in the Roman state, that explains the influence exerted by Roman law down to the present time.

We see then that the state organization is the natural outcome of a society divided into a great variety of occupations and having varied, frequently opposing and contending, interests. An inevitable result was oppression of the weaker members. This truth was recognized by the Nabastaeans, an Arabian tribe, who, according to Diodorus, issued the command neither to sow nor to plant, to drink no wine, and to build no houses, but to live in tents, for if they did all these things they might be **compelled to obey by a superior power** (the state). Among the Rachebites, the descendants of the father-in-law of Moses, we find similar decrees.* In fact, Mosaic law is framed in a manner destined to prevent **the Jews from developing beyond the stage of an agricultural society, because their lawmakers feared that it might bring about the downfall of their democratic, communistic organization.** For the same reasons the "holy land" was selected in a territory that was bounded on the one side by a mountain range which was difficult of access, the Libanon, and on the other, especially in the East and South, by barren lands and a desert, making isolation possible. For the same reasons, moreover, the Jews were kept at a distance from the sea, which is favorable to commerce, colonization and the acquirement of wealth. For the same reasons there were strict laws forbidding mingling and intermarriage with other nations; and the poor laws, the agrarian laws, the year of jubilee, all were institutions destined to prevent the acquirement of great fortunes by individuals. The Jews were to be prevented from becoming a state-forming nation. That is why the old gentile constitution founded on tribal organization was maintained by them until their dissolution, and has left its traces among them even to-day.

Apparently the Latin tribes who participated in the foundation of Rome had already superseded the matriarchal development. As previously stated, they robbed

*"Mosaic Law," by John David Michaelis.

the women who were wanting among them from the tribe of the Sabines and called themselves Quirites after these. At a much later date the Roman citizens in the popular assembly were still addressed as Quirites. "Populus Romanus" designated the free population of Rome generally; but "populus Romanus quiritium" designated Roman citizenship by descent. The Roman gens was patriarchal; the children inherited from their natural parent. In case there were no children the property fell to relatives on the man's side, and if these were wanting, it fell to the gens. By marriage the woman lost all rights of inheritance to her father's property and that of her father's brothers. She withdrew from her gens, and thus neither she nor her children could inherit from her father or his brothers. Otherwise the hereditary portion would have been lost to the paternal gens. The division into gentes and phratries for centuries remained the foundation of military organization and the enactment of civic rights. But with the decay of the patriarchal gentes and the decline of their significance, conditions became more favorable to Roman women. They not only obtained the right of inheritance, they also obtained the right to control their own fortunes; they accordingly held a far more favorable position than their Greek sisters. This freer position gradually won by them, gave the elder Cato—born 234 B. C.—cause for the following complaint: "If the head of each family, following the example of his ancestors, would seek to maintain his wife in proper submissiveness, the entire sex would not give so much trouble publicly." When a few tribunes in the year 195 B. C., moved to repeal a law enacted previously, for the purpose of restricting the luxury of women in dress and personal adornment, he stormed: "If each of us had maintained his manly authority with his own wife, we would have less bother here with all the women. Our power that has been shattered in the home, now is being broken and trampeled upon in the forum too by the unruliness of women, and because we are incapable of resisting them individually, we fear them all together. Our ancestors decided that women should not even attend to their private affairs without the control of a

guardian, that they should be subject to their fathers, brothers, husbands. But we submit to it that they take possession of the republic and interfere with the popular assembly. If you give free reign to the imperious natures of these unruly creatures, do not imagine that they will recognize any limits of their tyranny. The truth is that they desire freedom, nay, dissoluteness, in all things, and when they have begun to be our equals, they will soon be our superiors."

At the time Cato delivered this speech the father was guardian to his daughter during his lifetime., even when she was married, unless he appointed another guardian. When the father died the nearest male relative assumed the guardianship. The guardian had the right to transfer this guardianship to whomever and whenever he pleased. Originally then the Roman woman had no will of her own before the law.

The forms of marriage ceremonies were varied and underwent many changes in the course of the centuries. The most ceremonious marriage ceremony was performed by the high priest in the presence of at least ten witnesses, whereupon the bridal pair ate a cake made of flour, salt and water as a symbol of their union. This ceremony has a strong resemblance to the eating of the sacramental wafer at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. A second form of marriage was merely by taking possession. If a woman had lived with her chosen husband under the same roof for one year, with the consent of her father or guardian, the marriage was legalized. A third form was a sort of mutual purchase. The man and woman exchanged some coins and promised to be husband and wife. At the time of Cicero* free divorce to both partners in the marriage contract was already established, and it was even denied that an announcement of the divorce was necessary. But the "lex Julia de adultriis" prescribed that a divorce must be solemnly announced. This law was caused by the frequent occurrence that women, having committed adultery and then having been called to account, claimed to have divorced

*Born 106 B. C.

their husbands. Justinian (The Christian)* prohibited divorce, except when both parties wished to enter a monastery. But his successor, Justinian II., found it necessary to introduce it again.

As Rome grew in wealth and power, vice and licentiousness of the worst kind replaced the moral austerity of its early days. Rome became the center from which lewdness, debauchery and sensual finesse spread over the entire civilized world of that period. Especially during the time of the emperors, and frequently encouraged by the emperors themselves, the debauchery assumed forms that could only have been inspired by insanity. Men and women vied with each other in immorality. The number of public brothels increased rapidly, and besides the "Greek love" (sodomy) was practised more and more by the men. At one time the number of male prostitutes in Rome was greater than the number of female prostitutes.

The courtesans appeared in great pomp, surrounded by their admirers, on the streets and the promenade, in the circus and theater, sometimes reclining on couches carried by Negroes, holding a mirror in their hand, decked with jewels, partly nude, fanned by slaves, surrounded by a swarm of boys, eunuchs and flute-players, with grotesque dwarfs bringing up the rear.

These debaucheries assumed such dimensions in the Roman empire, that they threatened its very existence. The bad example set by men, was followed by women. There were women, so Seneca** reports, who did not count years by the consuls, as was customary, but by the number of their husbands. Adultery was general, and in order to escape the severe penalties attached to it, women had themselves registered as prostitutes. Even some of the most aristocratic ladies of Rome were among these.

Besides these debaucheries, civil wars and the system of the latifundia caused such a marked decline of the marriage and birth-rate, that the number of Roman citizens and patricians was greatly diminished. In the year

*From 527 to 565 A. D.

**Seneca lived from 2 to 65 A. D.

16 B. C. Augustus enacted the so-called Julian law;* that placed a penalty upon the unmarried state of Roman citizens and patricians, and rewarded them for having children. Whoever had children was deemed of higher station than childless or unmarried persons. Unmarried persons could not inherit property from anyone except their nearest relatives. People who had no children could only claim half of an inheritance, the other half was turned over to the state. Women who had been convicted of adultery, were compelled to give a part of their dowery to their deceived husbands. This provision caused some men to marry with a desire for adultery on the part of their wives. That caused Plutarch to remark: "Romans do not marry to have heirs, but to become heirs." Later on the Julian law was still increased in severity. Tiberius issued an edict that no woman whose grandfather, father or husband had been or was a Roman knight, might prostitute herself. Married women, who had their names entered in the lists of prostitutes, should be banished from Italy. For the men, of course, no such punishments existed. As Juvenal reports, husband-murder by poison was a frequent occurrence in Rome of his day.

CHAPTER III.

Christianity.

While in the Roman empire the marriage and birth-rate were permitted to decline more and more, the Jews maintained far different customs. The Jewess was not entitled to choose her own husband; he was chosen for her by her father. But she regarded marriage as a duty which she faithfully performed. The Talmud advises: "When thy daughter has attained maturity, set one of thy slaves free and betroth her to him." The Jews likewise faithfully obeyed the commandment of their God: "Be fruitful and multiply." Accordingly the Jews have

*Augustus, the adopted son of Caesar, was by adoption a member of the Gens Julia, from which the Julian law derived its name.

steadily increased in spite of persecution and oppression; they are staunch opponents of Malthusianism. Tacitus said of them: "They firmly hold together and readily assist one another, but are hostile and full of hatred against all others. They never eat or sleep with enemies, and though very much inclined to sensual passion, they refrain from pairing with foreign women. Yet they are eager to increase their tribe. To destroy their offspring is a sin to them; and the souls of those who have been killed in battle or executed, they consider immortal. Therefore they combine love for propagation with a contempt for death." But Tacitus hated and despised the Jews because they, regardless of their paternal creed, eagerly accumulated wealth. He calls them "the meanest people, "an ugly nation."

Under Roman rule, the Jews became more and more closely linked with one another, and during the long time of suffering they were doomed to endure from this time on through the entire middle ages, that intimate family life developed among them, which still is regarded as a sort of model by bourgeois society. In Roman society meanwhile, that process of decay and dissolution took place that brought the empire to an end. The debauchery bordering on madness was opposed by the opposite extreme, rigorous self-denial. Asceticism now assumed religious forms, as the debaucheries had previously done. Eccentric fanaticism made propaganda for it. The boundless luxury and extravagance of the ruling classes was in striking contrast with the want and misery of the millions and millions of people who were brought to Italy into servitude by the conquering Romans from all the countries of the world known at that time. Among these there also were ever so many women, torn from their homes, their parents, their husbands and children, who were most deeply afflicted by their misfortune and longed for liberation. Many Roman women who were thoroughly disgusted by what was going on about them, were in a similar mental state. Any change in their position seemed desirable. A profound longing for change, for redemption, manifested itself in wide circles, and the Redeemer seemed to approach. The

conquest of the Jewish realm and Jerusalem by the Romans, resulted in the destruction of national independence, and brought forth idealists among the ascetics of that country who predicted the coming of a new kingdom with freedom and happiness for all.

Christ came and Christianity developed. It personified opposition against the beastly materialism that prevailed among the rich and mighty ones in the Roman empire; it represented rebellion against the oppression and disdain of the masses. But since it sprang from Judaism that knew woman only as an oppressed being, and since it was biased by the biblical conception that she is the source of all evil, it preached the disdain of woman; it preached abstinence and destruction of the flesh, that was sinning so much at the time, and with ambiguous expressions pointed to a coming kingdom—conceived by some as a celestial, by others as an earthly kingdom—that would bring universal peace and justice. In the mire of the Roman realm, the seeds of these doctrines were planted in fertile soil. Woman, hoping for liberation and redemption from her position like all the other unfortunates, gladly and eagerly embraced the new faith. Until this day no great and important movement has taken place in all the world in which women did not figure as heroines and martyrs. They who praise Christianity as a great achievement of civilization, should not forget that to woman it owed many of its victories. Her eagerness to make converts played an important part both in the Roman empire and among the barbarian peoples of the middle ages. Through her efforts those in power often were converted. Thus, for instance, it was Chlotilde who induced Chlodwig, King of the Franks, to embrace Christianity. It was Bertha, Queen of Kent, and Gisela, Queen of Hungary, who introduced Christianity in their countries. The conversion of many prominent men was due to the influence of women. But Christianity rewarded woman poorly. Its doctrines contain the same disdain of woman that is met with in all the religions of the Orient. It commands her to be an obedient servant to man, and even to-day women must promise obedience to their husbands before the marriage

altar. Let us hear how the Bible and Christianity speak of woman and marriage.

The ten commandments of the old testament are addressed exclusively to the man. In the ninth commandment the woman is mentioned together with the domestic servants and domestic animals. The man is warned not to covet his neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his neighbors. Woman then is an object, a piece of property, that man should not desire if in someone else's possession. Jesus, who belonged to a sect that maintained rigorous asceticism and practised voluntary emasculation, when asked by his disciples whether it were well to marry, replied: All men cannot receive this saying save they to whom it is given. For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb; and there are some eunuchs which were made eunuchs of men; and there be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake.

According to this, then, emasculation is agreeable to God, and renunciation of love and marriage is a worthy deed. St. Paul, who may be called the founder of Christianity even more so than Jesus himself, St. Paul, who removed this creed from the narrow Jewish sectarianism and gave it its international character, writes to the Corynthians: Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me: it is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife and let every woman have her own husband.

"Matrimony is a degraded station; to marry is good, not to marry is better." "Walk in the spirit and resist the temptations of the flesh." "The flesh conspires against the spirit and the spirit conspires against the "flesh." They, whom Christ has won, have crucified their flesh with all its passions and desires. — — —

He was true to his own views and refrained from marriage. This hatred of flesh is **the hatred of woman, but also the fear of woman,** who is represented as man's seducer. In this spirit the apostles and fathers of the church preached; in this same spirit the church used its

influence during the entire middle ages, by establishing monasteries and introducing celibacy of priests, and it is still using its influence in the same direction.

According to Christianity woman is **impure.** She is the seducer who brought sin into the world and wrought man's destruction. Therefore the apostles and fathers of the church regarded marriage as a necessary evil, as prostitution is regarded at present. Tertullian exclaims: "Woman, you ought to go about clad in mourning and rags, your eyes filled with tears of remorse, to make us forget that you have been mankind's destruction. Woman, you are the gate to hell!" And: "Celibacy must be chose, even though the human race should perish." Hieronymus says: "Matrimony is always a vice, all that can be done is to excuse it and to sanctify it; therefore it was made a religious sacrament. Origines declares: "Matrimony is impure and unholy; a means of sensual passion." To escape the temptation he emasculated himself. Augustin teaches: "The married people will shine in heaven like radiant stars, while their parents (their procreators) will be like dark stars." Eusebius and Hieronymus are agreed that the teaching of the Bible: "Be fruitful and multiply," is no longer suited to the times, and does not concern Christians. Hundreds of similar sayings by the most influential teachers of the church might be quoted, to prove that they all taught in the same spirit. By their continuous teaching and preaching they have disseminated those unnatural views about everything pertaining to sex and the sex relation, which after all is a **law of nature, and the fulfillment of which is one of the most important duties in the plan of life.** Modern society is still suffering from the effects of these doctrines, and is but slowly recovering from them.

St. Peter exclaims with energy: "Wives, obey your husbands!" St. Paul writes to the Ephesians: "The husband is the head of the wife, as Christ also is the head of the church." And to the Corinthians: "The man is the image and glory of God; but woman is the glory of the man."

According to this any fool of a man may deem himself better than the most excellent woman, and as a mat-

ter of fact it has been so in practice until this day. Against the higher education of women St. Paul also raises his voice. In the first Epistle to Timothy 2, 11, etc., he says: "Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection. But I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness"; and in the Epistle to the Corinthians. 14, 34 and 35: "Let the women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak. But let them be in subjection as also saith the law. And if they would learn anything let them ask their own husbands at home; for it is shameful for a woman to speak in the church." St. Thomas of Aquino (1227 to 1274) says: "Woman is a rapidly growing weed, an imperfect being. Her body attains maturity more rapidly only because it is of less value, and nature is engaged less in her making. Women are born to be eternally maintained under the yoke of their lords and masters, endowed by nature with superiority in every respect, and therefore destined to rule."

Such doctrines are not characteristic of Christianity only. As Christianity is a mixture of Judaism and Greek philosophy, and as both are rooted in the more ancient civilizations of India, Babylon and Egypt, the inferior position alloted to woman by Christianity was common to all the civilized nations of antiquity after the passing of the matriarchate. In the Indian book of laws of Manu we find the following: "The cause of dishonor is woman; the cause of hostility is woman; the cause of worldly things is woman; therefore woman should be shunned." Beside the degradation of woman, the fear of woman is repeatedly naively expressed. Thus it is further stated in Manu: "Women are ever inclined by nature to seduce men; therefore a man should never, even in the company of his closest female relative, sit in a lonely spot." The Indian conception, the old testament, and the Christian conception, all unite in declaring woman the seducer. Every condition of oppression entails the degradation of the oppressed. The oppression of woman has been maintained until this day; but among the Oriental peoples, whose social development has been retarded, it has been maintained more rigorously than among the Chris-

tian nations. Yet the factor that made for improvement in the position of women among Christian nations was not Christianity itself, but **the civilization of the Western countries attained in the struggles against the Christian conception.**

Christianity is not the cause that woman's position is superior to-day to what it had been at the time of the origin of Christianity. Only reluctantly has it been compelled to abandon its true attitude toward woman. They who are enthusiastic over the "redeeming mission of Christianity," of course, hold a different view. They claim that Christianity has liberated woman from her former degraded position, and they base this claim especially upon the cult of the Holy Virgin, which they consider a token of respect for woman. The Catholic Church which maintains this cult, might hardly share this opinion. The above-quoted sayings of the saints and the fathers of the church which could easily be multiplied, all express hostility to woman and marriage. The Council at Macon during the sixth century, which indulged in serious discussion as to whether woman had a soul, and finally decided in her favor by a majority of one, also disproves the claim that Christianity was favorable to women. The introduction of celibacy of priests by Gregory VII,* the purpose of which was to create a power by having an unmarried priesthood that would not be withdrawn from the service of the church by any family interests, was made possible only by that fundamental view of the church, that all desires of the flesh are sinful. Many reformers, especially Calvin and the Scotch ministers, have raved so vehemently against the "lust of the flesh," that they left no doubt in regard to the hostile attitude of Christianity toward women,** By introduc-

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*Among others the parish priests of the Diocese of Mayence thus protested against this ordinance: "You bishops and abbots possess great riches, elegant hunting outfits and enjoy royal banquets; we poor, simple priests have but a wife for our comfort. Abstinence may be a virtue, but it is forsooth severe and hard."—Yoes Guyot, "Les Théories sociales du Christianisme."

**A great many instances in evidence of this are furnished by Buckle in his "History of Civilization in England."

ing the cult of the Virgin Mary, the Catholic Church, with wise calculation, merely put this cult in place of the cult of the ancient goddesses, that existed among all the peoples who were converted to Christianity at that time. Mary replaced Cybel, Mylitta, Aphrodite and Venus among the Southern nations, and Freia, Frigga and others among the German tribes. She was only endowed with a Christian, spiritual idealism.

CHAPTER IV.

Woman in the Mediaeval Age.

1.—The Position of Women among the Germans.

The robust, physically healthy, coarse but unsophisticated peoples that during the first centuries after Christ came from the North and East, flooding like mighty ocean waves the enervated Roman empire in which Christianity had gradually come into power, vehemently resisted the ascetic teachings of the Christian preachers, who were obliged to make allowances for these healthy natures. The Romans were surprised to find that the customs of these peoples differed considerably from their own. Tacitus takes note of this fact in regard to the Germans, of whom he thus expresses his approval: "Their marriage laws are severe and none of their customs are more laudable than this one, for they are practically the only barbarians who content themselves with one wife. Among this numerous people one rarely hears of adultery, and when it does occur, it is promptly punished, the men themselves being permitted to inflict the punishment. Naked, her hair clipped, thus the man drives the adulteress out of the village before the eyes of her relatives, for a sin against virtue is not condoned. There nobody laughs over vice and to seduce and being seduced are not considered a sign of good breeding. The youths marry late; therefore they maintain their strength. The maidens, too, are not married off hastily, and they are of the same stature as the men, and

present the same healthful glow of youth. Of equal age, equally strong, they wed, and the strength of the parents is transmitted to the children."

Evidently Tacitus depicted the matrimonial relations of the ancient Germans in a somewhat too rosy hue, to set them before the Romans as an example. They indeed severely punished the woman who committed adultery, but the punishment was not inflicted upon the man who committed adultery. At the time of Tacitus, the gens still flourished among the Germans. Tacitus, being accustomed to the more advanced Roman conditions that made the old gentile organization and its foundations seem strange and incomprehensible to him, wonderingly relates that among the Germans a mother's brother regards his nephew as a son, and that some considered the bond of blood relation between an uncle on the mother's side and his nephew as being even more sacred than the bond between father and son. For this reason, so he furthermore relates, when hostages were asked for, it was considered a stronger security when a man gave his sister's son instead of his own. Upon this subject Engels remarks: "When the member of a gens gave his own son as a hostage and he was sacrificed by a breach of the agreement, it was the father's own concern. But if his sister's son had been sacrificed a sacred gentile right had been violated. The nearest gentile relation by duty bound to protect the boy or youth, had caused his death. He should either not have pledged him, or should have kept his agreement."* Engels shows that in other respects among the Germans at the time of Tacitus, the matriarchate had already been replaced by the patriarchate. The children inherited from their father. In the absence of children, brothers and uncles on both the father's and mother's side were the lawful heirs. That the mother's brother was admitted to a share in the inheritance, although inheritance was determined by descent on the father's side, can be explained by the fact that the old law had but recently disappeared. Memories of the old law also caused that profound respect of the

*Engels: "Origin of the Family."

German for the female sex, which so greatly surprised Tacitus. He also observed that the courage of the men was kindled to the utmost by the women. The thought of seeing their women led into captivity and servitude was most terrible to the ancient Germans and impelled them to the utmost resistance. But the women also were animated by a spirit that greatly impressed the Romans. When Marius would not permit the captured Teuton women to become priestesses of Vesta (the goddess of virgin chastity) they committed suicide.

At the time of Tacitus the Germans possessed fixed abodes. There was an annual division of the soil, which was determined by lot, and the wood, the streams and the pasture-ground were considered common property. Their mode of life was extremely simple; their wealth consisted mainly of cattle; coarse woolen cloaks or the hides of animals constituted their clothing. Women and some men of rank wore linen under-garments. Metal tools and weapons were manufactured only by those tribes who lived in too remote parts for the importation of Roman products of industry. In minor matters decisions were rendered by the council of chiefs; in more important matters by the popular assembly. Originally the chiefs were elected, though usually from one particular family. But the transition to the patriarchal system favored the heredity of the position, and finally led to the formation of a hereditary nobility that later on developed into kingship. As in Greece and Rome, the German gens perished by the rise of private property, the development of industry and commerce, and intermarriage with members of foreign tribes and nations. The gens was replaced by the mark community, a democratic organization of free peasants that constituted a firm bulwark against the encroachments of church and nobility for many centuries, and did not quite disappear even then when the feudal state had come into power and the free peasants had been forced into a condition of servitude. The mark community was represented by the heads of the families. Wives, daughters and daughters-in-law were excluded from the council. The times had passed in which women conducted the affairs of the

tribe—an incident which greatly amazed Tacitus, and which he describes with remarks of scorn. In the fifth century the Salic law repealed the right of inheritance of women to patrimonial estates.

Every male member of the mark community was entitled, upon marriage, to share in the common soil. Usually grandparents, parents and children lived under one roof in a household community, and so it frequently occurred that for the purpose of obtaining an additional share, a son who had not yet attained the marriageable age was joined in wedlock with some maiden of marriageable age by proxy, the father acting as husband in place of the son.* Newly married couples were given a cartload of beachwood and wood to build a log cabin. Upon the birth of a daughter, parents also received one cartload of wood; upon the birth of a son they received two. The female sex accordingly was considered worth only half as much as the male sex.

The marriage ceremony was simple. Religious rites were unknown. A mutual agreement was sufficient, and as soon as the couple had entered the nuptial bed, the marriage was contracted. Only in the ninth century that custom arose according to which a religious ceremony was necessary to legalize a marriage, and as late as the sixteenth century, marriage was made a sacrament of the Catholic Church by a decision of the council of Trent.

2.—Feudalism and the Right of the First Night.

With the rise of the feudal state the position of a great many commoners became considerably worse. The victorious leaders of the army abused their power by taking possession of large tracts of land. They considered themselves entitled to the common property, and did not hesitate to distribute it among their followers, slaves, serfs or freed men, either for temporary use or with the right of inheritance. Thereby they created for themselves a court and military nobility, devoted to them in all things. The establishment of a large realm of the Franks destroyed the last traces of gentile organi-

*The same custom was met with in Russia during the rule of Mir.

zation. The council of the chiefs was replaced by the leaders of the army and the newly created nobility.

Gradually the great mass of the commoners were driven into a condition of exhaustion and pauperism, as a result of the continuous wars of conquest and the disputes of their rulers, for which they had to bear the heaviest burdens. They could no longer serve in the militia. In their place the lords and noblemen recruited vassals, and the peasants placed themselves and their possessions under the protection of a worldly or spiritual lord—for the church had succeeded in becoming a great power within a few centuries—in return for which they paid rent and taxes. Thus the free farms were transformed into leased property, and as time went by new duties were constantly imposed. Having once come into this dependent position, it was not long before the peasants were deprived of their personal liberty as well. Bondage and serfdom expanded more and more. The feudal lord held almost unrestricted sway over his serfs. His was the right to compel any man who had attained the eighteenth and any girl who had attained the fourteenth year, to become married. He could prescribe to both men and women whom they were to marry, even in the case of widows and widowers. As lord of his subjects, he considered himself entitled to sexual intercourse with his female serfs, and his power was expressed in the "jus primae noctis" (the right of the first night). This right might also be practiced by his representative (major domo) unless the right were waived upon payment of a tax. The terms "bed-tribute," "virgin's tribute," etc., betray the nature of these taxes.

It has frequently been denied that this right of the first night existed. The knowledge of its existence is uncomfortable to some people, because it was still practiced at a time that they like to represent as a model for virtuousness and piety. We have already shown that this right of the first night was a custom which had its origin in the time of the matriarchate. When the old gentile organization disappeared, the custom of surrendering the bride in the bridal night to the members of her kinship was still maintained. But in the course

of time the right was restricted and finally practiced only by the chief or priest. It was transferred upon the feudal lord as a result of his power over the people who lived upon the land owned by him, and he might practice this right if he so chose, or waive it in return for a payment in kind or in money. How real was this right of the first night may be seen by the following passage from a tale by Jacob Grimm: "The groom shall invite the manager of the estate to the wedding and he shall also invite the manager's wife. The manager shall bring a cartload of wood to the wedding, and his wife shall bring a quarter of a roasted pig. When the wedding is over, the groom shall let the manager lie with his wife for the first night, or he shall redeem her with five shillings and six pence."

Sugenheim* holds the opinion that the right of the first night was given to the feudal lord because his serfs, in order to marry, needed his consent. In Béarn this practice led to the custom that all first-born children of marriages in which the "jus primae noctis" had been practiced, were regarded as of free estate. Later on this right was generally redeemable by the payment of a tax. According to Sugenheim, the bishops of Amiens stubbornly maintained this tax until the beginning of the fifteenth century. In Scotland the right of the first night was declared redeemable by payment of a tax by King Malcolm III at the close of the eleventh century. In Germany it existed much longer. According to the records of the Swabian monastery Adelberg of the year 1496, the serfs living in the community of Boertlingen, could redeem the right if the groom gave a bag of salt and the bride gave 1 lb 7 shillings in a dish "large enough that she might sit in it." In other localities the brides might redeem it by giving the feudal lord so much butter or cheese "as was the size of their seat." Elsewhere they had to give a dainty leather chair "in which they just fitted." According to a description of the Bavarian judge of the court of appeals, Mr. Welsh, a tax for redeeming the jus primae noctis still existed in Bavaria in the eigh-

*History of the abolition of serfdom in Europe until the middle of the nineteenth century.

teenth century. Engels furthermore reports that among the Scots and Welsh the jus primae noctis was maintained thruout the middle age, but since here the gentile organization continued to exist, it was not the feudal lord or his representative who practiced this right, but the chieftain of the clan, and by him it was practiced as representative of all the husbands unless a tribute was paid.

So there can be no doubt as to the existence of the right of the first night, not only in medieval days, but even down to modern times, and that it held a place in the feudal code of laws. In Poland noblemen arrogated the right to deflour any maiden who chanced to please them, and if someone protested against this usage, they condemned him to receive one hundred blows with a cane. Land-lords and their employees still consider the sacrifice of virginal honor to their lust a matter of course, not only in Germany, but in the entire southern and south eastern portion of Europe, as is asserted by those who are acquainted with the land and the people.

During feudalism it was in the interest of the feudal lord that his serfs should become married, for the children became his serfs also, adding to the number of his workers and increasing his income. Therefore both worldly and spiritual masters encouraged marriage among their subjects. The question assumed a different aspect tho as far as the church was concerned, when an unmarried person was likely to will his property to the church. But this only applied to free men of low estate, whose conditions grew steadily worse as a result of the conditions described herein, and who gave over their possessions to the church to seek protection and peace within the walls of the monasteries. Others again placed themselves under the protection of the church by paying a tax or by rendering services. But in this way the fate they had sought to escape frequently befell their descendants; they gradually came into bondage or were made novices for the monasteries.

3.—The Rise of Cities. Monastic Affairs. Prostitution.

The cities which had begun to flourish with the eleventh century, favored the increase of population in their own

interest by facilitating residence and marriage. They became places of refuge to the rural population seeking to escape unbearable oppression, and to fugitive serfs. But at a later day these conditions changed again. As soon as the cities had obtained power, and a class of mechanics in comfortable circumstances had come into existence, a feeling of hostility manifested itself against new-comers who tried to settle down as mechanics, since they were regarded as undesirable competitors. Barriers were erected against the new-comers; heavy taxes were levied upon them if they would obtain the right of residence and become qualified as master-workmen. Trades were limited to a certain number of master-workmen and their journeymen, thereby forcing thousands into a condition of servitude, celibacy and vagabondage. When during the sixteenth century the cities began to decline, —owing to conditions that will be discussed later on,— it was quite in keeping with the narrow views of the time that residence and the right to independently practice a trade were made still more difficult. The tyranny of the feudal lords constantly increased, until many of their subjects preferred to abandon their miserable lives for the freer life of beggar, tramp or robber, the latter being favored by the large forests and the poor condition of the highways, or, making the most of the numerous warfares of the time, they became mercenary soldiers, selling their services wherever the pay was highest and the booty most promising. Male and female rabble flooded the country, becoming a public nuisance. The church helped to increase the general depravity. The forced celibacy of the clergy alone led to sexual debauchery, and this was still heightened by the constant association with Italy and Rome.

Rome was not only the capital of Christianity, being the residence of the popes, it was also, true to its traditions under the heathen emperors, a new Babel, the European high-school of immorality, and the papal court was its most distinguished center. The Roman empire at its dissolution had left to Christian Europe all its vices. These were cultivated in Rome and from there penetrated into Germany, favored by association of the clergy

with Rome. The numerous clergy, consisting to a great extent of men whose sexual desires were increased to the utmost by a lazy and luxurious life, and whom enforced celibacy drove to illegitimate or unnatural satisfaction of their desires, transmitted this immorality to all strata of society. The clergy became a pestilential danger to the virtue of women in cities and villages. Monasteries and nunneries,—and there were countless numbers of them,—frequently differed from public brothels only inasmuch as life within them was still more licentious and dissolute. Crimes, especially infanticide, were frequently committed there with impunity, because only those were permitted to pass judgment who were more often than not connected with the crimes. Sometimes peasants tried to protect their wives and daughters from being seduced by clergymen, by refusing to accept as pastor any one who would not consent to keeping a concubine. This circumstance led a bishop of Constance to impose a concubine tax upon the clergy of his diocese. Such conditions explain the historically authenticated fact, that during the mediæval age described by one writer of romance as a pious and virtuous age, for instance in 1414, at the council of Constance, no less than 1500 prostitutes were present.

But these conditions by no means made their appearance only at the decline of the middle age. They appeared at an early date and gave cause for constant complaints and ordinances. Thus Charlemagne issued an ordinance in the year 802, in which it says: "the nunneries shall be closely guarded. The nuns shall not roam about but shall be carefully watched, neither shall they live in discord and quarrels with one another, and under no circumstances shall they disobey their mothers superior. Where they have monastic rules they shall absolutely abide by them. They shall not be given to covetousness, drunkenness and prostitution, but shall lead a just and temperate life. Neither shall any man enter their convent except to attend mass, and then he shall immediately depart again." Another ordinance of the year 869 declared: "if priests keep several wives or shed the blood of Christians or heathens, or break the canon-

ical law, they shall be divested of their priesthood because they are worse than the laity." The fact that in those days the priests were forbidden to have several wives, shows that in the ninth century polygamy was not rare. Indeed there were no laws forbidding it. Even later, at the time of the minnesingers, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was not considered objectionable to have several wives. In a poem by Albrecht of Johansdorf in the collection "Love-songs' Springtime," we find the following stanza:*

Particularly detrimental to the moral condition of the age were the crusades, that kept tens of thousands of men away from their homes for years, and led them to become acquainted with customs in the Eastern Roman empire that had until then been unknown in Western Europe. The position of women became especially unfavorable, not only as a result of the many hindrances to marriage and permanent residence, but also because their numbers by far exceeded the male population. The chief cause of this was the numerous wars and the fact that commercial traveling in those days was a dangerous undertaking. Moreover the death rate among men was higher than among women, as a result of their intemperate living, which was especially manifested during the plague that frequently ravaged the population in the middle age. Thus there were 32 plague years in the period from 1326 to 1400; 41 from 1400 to 1500, and 30 from 1500 to 1600.**

Hosts of women roamed about on the highways as musicians, dancers, magicians, in the company of wandering scholastics and priests, and flooded the markets and fairs. They formed special divisions in the troops of foot-soldiers where they were organized in guilds according to the spirit of the age, and were assigned to the different ranks according to age and beauty. By severe

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*Would he not be fickle
Who would choose to have a second wife
Beside his virtuous one? Speak, Sir, would you?—
Let it to men be granted but to women not!

**Dr. Charles Buecher: "The Woman Question in Mediæval Times."

penalty they were forbidden to yield to any man outside of the prescribed circle. In the camp they had to help the baggage-carriers to gather in hay, straw and wood, to fill up holes and ditches and to clean the camp. During sieges it was their task to fill up the ditches with brushwood, branches and tufts of grass to facilitate the attack; they helped to place the guns in position and to drag them along when they became stuck in the muddy roads.* To give some relief to these numerous helpless women, so called beguinages, that were maintained by the municipality, were erected in many cities from the middle of the thirteenth century on. Here the women were given homes and were encouraged to lead decent lives. But neither their institutions nor the nunneries could shelter all those who sought help and protection.

The hindrances to marriage, the journeys of noblemen and other worldly and spiritual lords who came into the cities with their hosts of knights and attendants, the young men within the cities and, last but not least, the married men who were not troubled much by moral scruples but believed that variety was the spice of life,—all these created a demand for prostitutes in the medieval towns. As every trade in those days was organized into guilds and submitted to definite regulations. so also was prostitution. In all the larger cities brothels were maintained that were municipal, state or church property and whose profits went to fill these respective treasuries. The women in these houses had a senior-mistress elected by themselves, whose duty it was to maintain order and who was especially charged with the task of seeing to it that no competitors outside of the guild harmed the legitimate trade. If such competitors were caught, they had to pay a legal fine. Thus the inhabitants of a brothel in Nuremberg complained to the magistrate about the competition of women who were not members of their guild: "that other keepers also maintain women who go upon the streets at night and harbour married men and others, and who ply their trade in a much coarser way, and that such were a disgrace and should not be permitted in this prais-

*Dr. Charles Buecher: "The Woman Question in Medieval Times."

worthy town."* The brothels enjoyed special protection; breach of the peace in their vicinity was punished more severely than elsewhere. This female guild was also entitled to appear at festivals and in processions in which it was customary for all the guilds to participate. They were even sometimes invited as guests to princely and official banquets. The brothels were considered desirable "for the protection of married women and the honor of virgins." This was the same argument which was resorted to in order to justify the maintainance of brothels by the state in Athens. Nevertheless barbarous persecutions of the prostitutes were met with, that came from the same men whose demand and whose money maintained the prostitutes. Thus Charlemagne decreed that a prostitute should be brought nude upon the market place and be flogged there. He himself, the "most Christian" king and emperor had no less than six wives simultaneously. His daughters, evidently following their father's example, were not models of virtue either. Their mode of life gave him many unpleasant hours, and they brought several illegitimate children into his house. Alkuin, a friend and advisor to Charlemagne, warned his pupils of "the crowned doves who fly thru the Palatinate at night," meaning the emperor's daughters.

The same communities that officially organized and protected the brothels and granted all sorts of privileges to the prostitutes inflicted the hardest and most cruel punishments upon a poor forsaken girl who had gone wrong. The infanticide who, driven to despair, had killed her own offspring was subjected to cruel death, while no one bothered about the unscrupulous seducer. Perhaps he sat among the judges who pronounced the death sentence on the unfortunate victim. The same is possible still.** Adultery of wives was also severely punished; to be put in the pillory was the least she might expect. But

*Joh. Scherr, History of the German Woman, 4th ed. Leipsic, 1879

**Leon Richter in "La femme libre" reports a case where a servant girl was convicted of infanticide by the father of her child, a pious lawyer, who was a member of the court. After the girl's conviction it became known that the lawyer himself was the murderer and that she was innocent.

adultery of husbands was concealed by the cloak of Christian forbearance.

In Wuerzburg it was customary for the brothel-keeper to take an oath before the magistrate, pledging faith and allegiance to the city and that he would diligently enlist women. Similar oaths were taken in Nuremberg, Ulm, Leipsic, Cologne, Frankfort, and others. In Ulm the brothels were abolished in 1537; but in 1551, the guilds moved to reinstate them "to avoid a worse state of affairs." When strangers of note visited a city, prostitutes were placed at their disposal at the city's expense. When King Ladislaus entered Vienna in 1452, the magistrate sent a committee of public prostitutes to meet him, clad in transparant gauze that disclosed their beautiful shapes. Emperor Charles V, upon entering Antwerp, was also received by a committee of nude girls, a historic scene that Hans Makart depicted in a large painting which is now on exhibition in the museum at Hamburg. Such occurrences created no scandal in those days.

4.—Knighthood and the Veneration of Women.

Phantastic writers of romance and scheming persons have endeavored to depict the mediæval age as an especially virtuous one, and as one imbued with a profound veneration of women. The time of the minnesingers, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, is dwelt upon to furnish proof to this assertion. The poetic courtship of the knights, that was first introduced by the Moriscos in Spain, is supposed to prove that women were highly honored at that time. But let a few facts be remembered. Firstly, the knights only constituted a very small portion of the population, and in the same way their ladies constituted a small portion of the women. Secondly, only a very limited number of the knights practiced this knightly courtship; and thirdly, the true nature of this custom has been considerably misunderstood or distorted. The time when knighthood was in flower, was the age of the rule of brute force in Germany; it was the age in which all bonds of law and order were broken, and the knights practiced extortion, plundering and highway-robbery without restraint. Such an age of brute force is not one

in which mild and poetic sentiments predominate. On the contrary. This age was destined to shatter the respect for the female sex that might still have remained. The knights, in the country as well as in the towns, were mostly coarse, brutal fellows, whose chief passion, besides warfare and excessive drinking, was the unrestricted satisfaction of their sexual desires. The chroniclers of that time tell of incessant acts of violence and ravishment committed by the nobility of town and country, who controlled the municipal governments throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth and into the fifteenth centuries. Because the knights conducted the courts in the towns, and the feudal lords passed judgment in the rural districts, the injured persons rarely obtained redress of their grievances. It is a great exaggeration then to assume that their customs of courtship caused the ancient nobility to treat women with special respect and to regard them as superior beings.

A small minority of the knights seem to have been enthusiastic over feminine beauty, but their enthusiasm was by no means platonic but pursued very material aims. Even that clown among the romantic admirers "of lovely women," Ulrick of Lichtenstein of ridiculous memory, was a platonic lover only so long as he was compelled to be. In the main, this romantic worship of woman was nothing but deification of the mistress at the expense of the legitimate wife; it was nothing but courtesanship, as it has existed in Greece at the time of Pericles, transplanted into medieval Christianity. The mutual seduction of wives was frequently practiced among the knights also, as it is still practiced in certain circles of our bourgeoisie.

The open manifestation of sensuality, characteristic of that age, constituted a frank recognition of the fact that the natural desires implanted in every healthy, adult human being rightfully seek satisfaction. In that respect it expressed a victory of healthy nature over the ascetic teachings of Christianity. But on the other hand it must again be emphasized, that this recognition came into consideration for the one sex only, while the other sex was treated on the assumption that it could not and dare not have the same impulses. The slightest transgression by

women of the moral laws laid down for them by men, was punished with unmerciful severity. Women, as a result of constant oppression and a singular education, have become so accustomed to the conception of their rulers, that they still consider this condition quite natural. Were there not also millions of slaves who considered slavery a natural condition and who would never have liberated themselves had not the liberators sprung from the slave owning class? When Prussian peasants were to be emancipated from serfdom, they petitioned the government not to emancipate them, "for who should provide for them when they were aged or ill?" And do we not meet with the same situation in the modern labor movement? How many workingmen still permit their exploiters to influence them and lead them at will!

The oppressed needs some one to animate and inspire him, because he lacks the initiative for independence. It was thus in the present day movement of the proletariat, and it is the same in the struggle for the emancipation of women. Even the bourgeoisie, that enjoyed a relatively more favorable position in its struggle for independence, found its leaders and spokesmen among the nobility and clergy.

Whatever the shortcomings of the middle ages may have been, it possessed a healthy sensuality which sprang from the strong, buoyant nature of the people, and which Christianity could not suppress. The hypocritical prudery and concealed lasciviousness of our day, that fears to call a spade a spade and to speak of natural things in a natural way, was foreign to that age. Neither was it familiar with that piquant ambiguity to which we resort in speaking of what we dare not name, because to be prudish and unnatural has become customary with us, and which is all the more dangerous because such language allures, but does not satisfy, allows us to surmise but does not express clearly. Our social conversations, our novels and our theaters abound with these piquant ambiguities, and their effect is manifested. This spiritualism of the roué, concealed by religious spiritualism, has a powerful influence.

CHAPTER V.

The Reformation.

1.—Luther.

The healthy sensuality of the middle ages found its classic exponent in Luther. We are here not so much concerned with the religious reformer, but with Luther, the man. In regard to all human relations, Luther's strong, unsophisticated nature clearly manifested itself, and caused him to express freely and without reserve his desire for love and enjoyment. His position as a former Roman clergyman had opened his eyes and had taught him from experience how contrary to all the laws of nature were the lives of monks and nuns. Therefore he roundly condemned the celibacy of priests and monks. Luther says: "Unless specially endowed by a rare, divine grace, a woman can no more dispense with a man, than she can dispense with food, drink, sleep and other natural needs. In the same way a man cannot do without a woman. The cause is that the desire to propagate the race is as deeply implanted by nature as the desire for food and drink. Therefore God has given unto the human body limbs, veins, circulation and all that serves this end. He who opposes this, and will not let nature take her course, what does he do but seek to prevent nature from being nature, fire from burning, water from moistening, human beings from eating, drinking and sleeping?" In his sermon on marriage, he says: "Just as it is not within my power not to be a man, so it is not in thy power to do without a man, for it is not free will or advice but a natural necessity that every man must have a woman and that every woman must have a man." But Luther does not only express himself so strongly in favor of marriage and the necessity of sexual relations, he also expresses himself as opposed to it that the church and marriage should have anything in common. He says in regard to this: "Know that marriage is something extrinsic as any other worldly action. As I may eat, drink, sleep, walk, ride and deal with any heathen, Jew, Turk or

heretic, **so to one of these I may also become and remain married. Do not observe the laws of fools that forbid such marriages**..... Heathens are men and women, well and wisely created by God, just as well as St. Peter and St. Paul and St. Luke, not to speak of any false and wanton Christian." Luther furthermore, like other reformers, opposed all restrictions to marriage, and favored permitting divorcees to marry, which was opposed by the church. He says: "in regard to matters of marriage and divorce among us I say, **let the jurists dispose of them, and let them be subject to worldly rule, since matrimony is a worldly, extrinsic thing.**" In accordance with this view, it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that a religious ceremony was considered essential to a legal marriage among Protestants. Until then the so called conscience marriage sufficed, that is, a marriage founded upon the mutual agreement to regard one another as husband and wife and to live in matrimonial relations with one another. According to German law such marriages were legal. Luther even went so far as to adjudge to the unsatisfied party in a marriage contract —even if the party were the woman—the right to seek satisfaction outside of marriage, "in order to do justice to nature that can not be resisted."* In this matter Luther sets forth opinions that would rouse many of our present day respectable men and women, who always point to Luther in their pious zeal, to vehement indignation. In his treatise "on married life," II, 146, Jena 1522, he says: "if a healthy woman is joined in wedlock to an impotent man and could not nor would for her honor's sake openly choose another, she should speak to her husband thus: "See, my dear husband, thou hast deceived me and my young body and endangered my honor and salvation, before God there is no honor between us. Suffer that I maintain a secret marriage with thy brother or closest friend while thou remainest my husband in name. That thy property may not fall heir to strangers; willingly be deceived by me as you have unwillingly deceived

*Dr. Carl Hagen—Germany's Literary and Religious Conditions during the Reformation.

me." It should be the husband's duty, Luther goes on to say, to consent to such arrangement. "If he will not she has the right to abandon him and go into another country and marry another man. In the same way if a woman will not perform her conjugal duty, the man has the right to seek another woman; only he should first tell his wife."* We see, the opinions set forth by the great reformer are very radical and even immoral, when viewed in the light of our age, abounding with prudery and hypocrisy. But Luther only expressed the popular conceptions of his age. The following is told by Jacob Grimm: "If a man cannot satisfy his wedded wife, let him take her gently upon his back and carry her to his neighbors. There let him set her down softly, without anger or rudeness but upon mutual agreement, and let him appeal to his neighbors to help his wife in her need. If they will not or can not, then let him send her to the nearest fair. There shall she appear, becomingly dressed and adorned, wearing a gold embroidered veil as a token that she may be wooed. If after all she returns from the fair still unsatisfied, then may the devil help her!"

The peasant of the middle age primarily sought marriage for the purpose of having heirs, and if he was unable to beget them himself, being a practical man, he left this pleasure to another without having particular moral scruples about it. The main object was to attain his purpose. We repeat: Man does not control his property, he is controlled by it.

The above quotations from the writings and sermons of Luther are of special importance because the views in regard to marriage expressed in them are diametrically opposed to those maintained by the church to-day. Luther and the other reformers went still further in matters pertaining to marriage but, it must be admitted, for opportunistic reasons, in order to please such sovereigns whose lasting support and good will they sought to win and to maintain. The landgrave of Hessia, Philip I, who was in sympathy with the reformation, had a legal wife, but fell in love with another woman who refused to yield to

*Dr. Carl Hagen.

his entreaties unless he would marry her. It was a delicate case. To become divorced from his wife without good and sufficient reason would imply a great scandal; to be married to two women simultaneously was a shocking occurrence with a Christian sovereign of the newer era, bound to create a still greater scandal. Nevertheless amorous Philip chose the latter alternative. It only was necessary to determine that this step was not in opposition to the teachings of the Bible, and to obtain the consent of the reformers, especially Luther and Melanchton. The landgrave then opened negotiations with Butzer, who consented to the plan and promised to win Luther and Melanchton. Butzer explained his view by pointing out that to have several wives simultaneously was not in conflict with the gospel, since Paul, who had mentioned many who shall not inherit the kingdom of God, had said nothing about those who have two wives. Paul had decreed that a bishop and his servants should not have more than one wife. If it had been necessary that no man should have more than one wife, he would have stated this and would have forbidden polygamy. Luther and Melanchton declared themselves in accordance with these views and consented to the double marriage, after the landgrave's wife had also given her consent under the condition "that he should perform his conjugal duty toward her even more than heretofore."* Luther had been previously troubled by the question whether bigamy was permissible when asked to give his consent to the double marriage of Henry VIII of England. That can be seen from a letter which he wrote to the Saxon chancellor Brink in January 1524. In this letter he wrote that on principle he, Luther, could not object to bigamy since it was not in conflict with the Holy Scripture,** but that he considered it offensive when occurring among Christians, for there were some things from which Christians should refrain even if they were not forbidden. After the

*John Janssen—History of the German People.

**This is true and can be explained from the fact that the Bible had its origin at a time when polygamy prevailed both among the Eastern and Western people; but in the sixteenth century it nevertheless was in direct opposition to custom.

marriage of the landgrave, which actually took place during March 1540, he wrote (April 10) in reply to a letter of appreciation from him: "I am glad that Your Grace is pleased by the advice we have given; but we should prefer to have secrecy maintained. Otherwise the coarse peasants, seeking to follow the example set by the landgrave, might present the same or even better causes, which would give us no end of trouble."

Melanchton probably had fewer scruples in giving his consent to the double marriage of the landgrave, for he had previously written to Henry VIII, that every sovereign was entitled to introduce polygamy in his realm. But the double marriage of the landgrave caused so much unpleasant notoriety in his country, that in 1541 he had a pamphlet distributed in which polygamy was defended on the ground that it was not in opposition to the Holy Scripture. But conceptions had been greatly modified since the ninth or twelfth century when polygamy was accepted without averse criticism. The double marriage of the landgrave of Hessia was however not the only one that gave offense to wide circles. Such princely double marriages were repeated both in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as will be shown.

When Luther declared the satisfaction of sensual desire to be a law of nature, he only expressed what his contemporaries thought and what the men claimed as their privilege. By the reformation, which did away with the celibacy of the clergy and abolished the monasteries in the Protestant countries, he gave to hundreds of thousands of men and women the possibility to seek legitimate satisfaction of their natural desires. Hundreds of thousands of others, of course, remained excluded from this possibility by the existing forms of property and the laws founded upon them.

The reformation was the protest of the rising bourgeoisie against the constraint of feudal conditions in church, state and society. This rising bourgeoisie struggled for liberation from the narrow bonds of the guild, the court and the papal anathema; it strove for centralization of the powers of the state, simplification of the

extravagant church affairs, and the abolition of the numerous abodes of idle persons, the monasteries.

Luther represented these endeavors of the bourgeoisie upon the religious field. When he stood for the freedom of marriage, it was the bourgeois marriage that was realized only in our day by the civil marriage laws, and the freedom of migration and freedom of choice in trade and domicile. We will see to what extent the position of woman was modified by these changes. During the reformation this change of development had not yet been reached. While on the one hand the reformation made marriage possible for many people, on the other hand free sexual intercourse was subjected to the most bitter persecution. While the Catholic clergy had maintained a certain tolerance toward sexual excess, the Protestant clergy, having been provided for itself, declaimed against it with redoubled zeal. War was waged against the public brothels that were declared to be the devil's dens. Prostitutes were persecuted as daughters of Satan, and every woman who had "fallen" was considered a paragon of wickedness and was subjected to relentless persecution. The merry, life loving townsman of the middle ages became a bigoted, austere, sombre philistine, who lived miserly that his later day bourgeois descendants might live all the more extravagantly. The honorable citizen with his stiff cravat, his narrow intellectual horizon, his severe but hypocritical morality, became the prototype of society. Legitimate wives who had not favored the sensuality tolerated by the Catholicism of the middle ages, were generally better pleased by the Puritan spirit of Protestantism. But other causes that had an unfavorable influence on conditions in Germany generally, also influenced the position of women unfavorably.

2.—Results of the Reformation—The Thirty Years' War.

Transformations in the conditions of production, exchange and finance, that were brought about especially by the discovery of America, and the discovery of the passage to India, resulted in a great social reaction for Germany. Germany ceased to be the center of European commerce. The German

trades and manufactures declined. At the same time the religious reformation had destroyed the political unity of the nation. Under the cloak of the reformation, the German princes sought to emancipate themselves from imperial rule. On the other hand, these princes oppressed the nobility and favored the cities to serve their own ends. Some of the cities voluntarily placed themselves under the rule of the princes, driven to this step by conditions that were steadily growing worse. The bourgeoisie upon seeing their income threatened, tried to make the restrictions that were intended to guard them against undesirable competition more and more rigorous, and the princes willingly conceded their demands. The ossification of conditions increased, but the general impoverishment increased likewise.

Another result of the reformation were the religious struggles and persecutions—used by the princes to serve their own political and economic ends—that raged in Germany with some interruptions for over a century, and finally ended with its complete exhaustion at the end of the Thirty Years' War. Germany had become a vast field of corpses and ruins. Entire countries and provinces had been devastated, hundreds of cities and thousands of villages partly or completely destroyed, and many of them had been wiped from the surface of the earth forever. In many places the population had been reduced to a third, a fourth, a fifth, even an eighth or a tenth of its original number. Such was the case in Nuremberg, and in the entire Franconian province. In this utmost need, in order to increase the population in the depopulated towns and villages, the unusual measure was occasionally resorted to of permitting one man to have two wives. Men had been decimated by the wars, but there was a superabundance of women. On the 14th of February 1650, the Franconian district council at Nuremberg decreed that "men under 60 should not be admitted into monasteries"; it furthermore decreed that "those clergymen who were not members of an order should become married." Moreover, "every man should be permitted to wed two wives, but the men should be frequently reminded and exhorted from the pulpits to

employ good judgment and discretion, that a married man who ventured to maintain two wives should not only provide well for both of them, but should also endeavor to avoid ill feeling between them." So even the pulpits were employed to make propaganda for the double marriage and to lay down rules of conduct for the men.

Commerce and industry almost came to a standstill during this long period; in many instances they were almost completely destroyed and picked up but very gradually. A large portion of the population had become demoralized and brutalized and disaccustomed to all regular work. During the wars, troops of mercenary soldiers had crossed Germany from one end to the other, plundering, destroying, ravishing and murdering, a terror alike to friend and foe. After the wars countless numbers of beggars, robbers and vagabonds maintained the population in constant terror and made commerce and all traffic difficult or impossible. To the female sex especially it was a time of great suffering. In this period of dissoluteness the contempt of woman had increased to the utmost, and the general condition of unemployment weighed most heavily upon her shoulders. Like the male vagabonds, thousands of women populated the highways and forests and filled the alms-houses and prisons. All these sufferings were still increased by the forcible expulsion of numerous peasant families by the greedy nobility. Since the reformation the nobility had become more and more subjected to princely rule, and by holding court and military positions their dependence on the princes had constantly increased. Now they tried to reimburse themselves for the losses sustained through the princes by robbing the peasants. To the princes, on the other hand, the reformation offered the desired excuse to acquire the property of the church, which they proceeded to do on a large scale. Prince August of Saxony, for instance, had, at the end of the sixteenth century, acquired no less than 300 ecclesiastical estates.* His brothers and cousins, the other Protestant sovereigns, above all those of the House of Hohenzollern, did likewise. The nobility fol-

*John Janssen—History of the German People.

lowed their example by appropriating the remaining communal property, and by driving both free peasants and serfs from hearth and home and taking possession of their estates. The unsuccessful peasant revolts during the sixteenth century gave them the desired pretext for such action, and after the attempt had once succeeded, new pretexts were constantly found to continue this forcible method. Various schemes and distortions of justice were resorted to, made easy by the Roman law which had been established in Germany in the meantime, to increase the property of the nobility by forcing the peasants to sell theirs at lowest prices, or by simply expropriating them. Entire villages and the farms of entire districts were usurped in this manner. To quote just a few examples: Of 12'543 knightly peasant estates which still existed in the province of Mecklenburg during the Thirty Years' War, only 1,213 remained in the year 1848. In the province of Pomerania 12,000 farms were abandoned since 1628. The transformations in the methods of farming that took place during the seventeenth century gave a further impulse to the nobility to expropriate the peasants and to transform the last remnants of communal property into their private estates. The rotation of crops had been introduced, which provided for changes in the cultivation of the soil in definite periods of time. Tilled land was occasionally transformed into pasture which favored cattle-breeding and made it possible to diminish the number of workers.

In the cities conditions were not much better than in the country. Formerly women had been permitted to acquire the title of master-workman and to employ journeymen and apprentices without any opposition from the male craftsmen. They were even compelled to join the guilds to force them to meet the same conditions of competition. So there were independent women workers among the linen-weavers, the cloth-weavers, the carpet-weavers and tailors. There were female gold-smiths, girdle-makers, harness-makers, etc. We find women employed as furriers in Frankfort and the Silesian cities; as bakers in the cities along the Rhine; as girdle-makers and embroiders of coats of arms in Cologne and Strass-

burg; as harness-makers in Bremen; as cloth-shearers in Frankfort "as tanners in Nuremberg; as gold-smiths in Cologne.* But as the circumstances of the craftsmen grew more and more unfavorable, a sentiment of ill will against the female competitors arose. In France, women were excluded from the trades at the close of the fourteenth century; in Germany, not until the close of the seventeenth century. At first they were forbidden to become master-workmen—with the exception of widows—later on they were also excluded from becoming assistants. Protestantism, by abolishing the ostentatious Catholic cult, had seriously injured or entirely destroyed a number of artistic crafts, and these were the very crafts in which many women had been employed. The confiscation and secularization of church property resulted in a decline of charitable work, and widows and orphans were the main sufferers.

The general economic decline that manifested itself during the sixteenth century, as a result of all the enumerated causes, and lasted through the seventeenth century, caused the marriage laws to become more and more severe. Journeymen and people employed in menial service (men and maid servants) were prohibited entirely from marrying, unless they could prove that there was no danger of their future families becoming a burden to the community in which they lived. Marriages contracted in opposition to the legal premises were punished frequently severely, sometimes barbarously. According to Bavarian law, for instance, the penalties were imprisonment and public flogging. Illegal marriages, that became more frequent as the marriage laws became more severe, were subjected to especially violent persecution. All minds were ruled by the prevailing fear of over-population, and to diminish the numbers of beggars and vagabonds, the various rulers enacted one law upon another, and each was more severe than the preceding one.

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*Dr. Carl Buecher—The Woman Question in the Middle Age.

CHAPTER VI.

The Eighteenth Century.

1.—Court Life in Germany.

Following the example set by Louis XIV. of France, most of the princely courts, that were very numerous in Germany in those days, indulged in an extravagance of outward display, especially in the maintenance of concubines, that were in no relation to the size and productiveness of their small domains. The history of the courts of the eighteenth century constitutes one of the ugliest chapters of history. One ruler tried to excel the other in hollow conceit, mad extravagance and costly military sport. But it was especially in the affairs with their courtesans that the wildest excesses were indulged in. It is hard to tell which of the many German courts excelled in this extravagant mode of living that had a corrupting influence on public life. It was one to-day and another to-morrow. None of the German states were spared this disgrace. The nobility imitated the sovereigns and in the capitals the bourgeoisie imitated the nobility. If the daughter of a bourgeois family was fortunate enough to please one of the gentlemen of the court or His Serene Highness himself, in nineteen cases out of twenty she considered herself highly favored, and the family willingly consented to her becoming a princely or royal concubine. Among the families of the nobility the same was the case if one of their daughters found favor with the sovereign. Wide circles were dominated by an utter lack of character and modesty. It was worst of all in the two chief cities of Germany, Vienna and Berlin. Although during a great part of the century Vienna was ruled by Maria Theresa, known for her moral austerity, she was powerless against the doings of the rich, profligate nobility and an eagerly imitative bourgeoisie. By establishing purity commissions, that resulted in an extensive system of espionage, she caused much bitterness and made herself ridiculous. The results amounted to nothing. In frivolous Vienna during the

second half of the eighteenth century, proverbs were circulated like the following: one should love one's neighbor like meself; that means, one should love one's neighbor's wife like one's own"; or, "If the wife turns to the right the husband may turn to the left; if she takes to herself a man servant, let him take a lady friend." How frivolously marriage and adultery were viewed at that time, may be seen from a letter written by the poet Christian von Kleist to his friend Gleim in 1751. It contains the following passage: "I suppose you heard of the adventure of the landgrave Henry. He has sent his wife to his country seat and intends to get a separation from her because he found her with the Prince of Holstein. The margrave would have acted more wisely if he had kept the affair secret instead of causing all Berlin and half of the world to speak of him. Besides, **one should not judge a natural occurrence so severely,** especially one who is not over virtuos himself. Disgust is bound to result in matrimony, and by their acquaintance with other amiable persons **all men and women are induced to be faithless. How can we be punished for something we have been forced to do?"** In 1772 the British ambassador, Lord Malmesbury, wrote the following in regard to conditions in Berlin: "moral depravity prevails among both sexes of all classes. To this is added a general insufficiency of means, due partly to the heavy taxes imposed by the king, and partly to the love of luxury introduced by his grandfather. The men lead a dissolute life notwithstanding their limited means, and the women are shameless harlots. They deliver themselves up to the one able to pay the highest price; modesty and true love are foreign to them."

The worst conditions existed in Berlin during the rule of Frederick William II. from 1786 to 1797. He set his people the worst possible example. His court chaplain, Zoellner, even degraded himself by marrying the king to his courtesan, Julie von Voss, although he had another wife; and when she died soon after in childbirth, Zoellner again consented to marry the king to another one of his courtesans, the Countess Sophie von Doenhoff. Other rulers had set an equally bad example at the beginning

of the century. In July, 1706, Duke Louis of Wurtemberg married, as an additional wife, his courtesan, Gravenitz, the "corrupter of the country," as she is still called in Wurtemberg. His cousin, Duke Leopold, still excelled him in profligacy, for he had three wives simultaneously, two of which were sisters. Of his thirteen children he joined two in marriage. The doings of these sovereigns caused much comment among their subjects, but that was all. The marriage of the Duke of Wurtemberg with Graevenitz was annulled by imperial intervention. But she entered into a mock marriage with a profligate count, and thereupon remained for twenty years more the duke's concubine and the "corrupter of the country."

2.—Commercialism and the New Marriage Laws.

The increasing power of sovereigns and the formation of larger states had led to the institution of standing armies. These standing armies and the extravagant mode of life indulged in at most of the courts, could not be maintained without heavy taxation, and to make such taxation possible a large, taxable population was required. Therefore governments from the eighteenth century on, especially those of the larger states, adopted measures for increasing the population and for heightening the taxability of the inhabitants. The foundation for such measures had been established by the social and economic transformations referred to above, i. e., the discovery of America, the discovery of the passage to India, and the circumnavigation of Africa. This transformation first manifested itself in Western Europe, but later in Germany also. The newly opened thoroughfare had created new commercial relations of an extent undreamt of until then. Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands and England were the first to profit by the transformation; but France and eventually Germany also were benefited by it. Of all these countries Germany was most retarded in development, as a result of the numerous religious wars and its political disunity. The establishment of a world market and the constant opening of new markets for the products of European industry, not only revolutionized

the methods of production, but also revolutionized the views, sentiments and conceptions of the European nations and their governments. The former mode of production, destined to supply only the daily needs of a given center and its immediate vicinity, was superseded by manufacture on a large scale, which implies the employment of a large number of workers and an increased division of labor. The merchants possessing large financial resources and broadness of perception, became the leaders along these new lines of industry that partly replaced and partly abolished the old handicrafts and put an end to their guild organization. Thereby a period had been ushered in which made it possible for woman to resume her industrial activity. The textile industries, cloth manufactury and the manufacture of laces opened up to her new fields of activity. At the close of the eighteenth century we already find 100,000 women and 80,000 children employed in the textile and printing trades of England and Scotland, unfortunately under conditions, both in regard to wages and hours of work, that were simply appalling. Similar conditions prevailed in France at the same time, where also tens of thousands of women were employed in various manufactures.

This economic development demanded more people, and as the population had been greatly diminished by the wars of conquest in Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and by the expeditions of discovery beyond the seas, the more advanced governments found it necessary to facilitate marriage and the right of settling. Spain, that by its imperialistic policy had become greatly depopulated, was obliged as early as 1623 to pass a law exempting from taxes for a number of years all persons who became married between the ages of 18 and 25. Poor persons were even given a dowry from public funds. Parents who had six or more male children were entirely exempt from taxes. Spain also encouraged immigration and colonization.

King Louis XIV. of France, who had decimated his people by his numerous wars, found it necessary to counteract this devastation by exempting from taxes for from four to five years all taxpayers, who constituted a great

majority of the population, if they became married before the twentieth or twenty-first year of age. Complete exemption from taxes was, furthermore, guaranteed to all who had ten living children, provided that none of these had become a priest, a monk or a nun. Noblemen having the same number of children, provided that none of them had become priests, monks or nuns, received an annual pension of from 1,000 to 2,000 livres. Citizens not subject to taxation under the same conditions received one-half of this amount. Marshal Maurice of Saxony even advised Louis XV. not to permit marriages to be contracted for a longer period than five years.

In Prussia, by laws enacted in the years 1688, 1721, 1726 and 1736, and by various government measures, endeavors were made to encourage immigration; especially were the immigrants welcomed who had been subjected to religious persecution in France and Austria. The theories in regard to population maintained by Frederick the Great were expressed with brutal frankness in a letter written by him to Voltaire on the 26th of August, 1741. He wrote: "I consider men as a herd of deer in the deer park of some great lord, having no other task but to populate the park." By his wars he certainly made it necessary to have his deer park repopulated. In Austria, Wurtemberg and Brunswick immigration was also encouraged and there, as in Prussia, emigration was forbidden. Furthermore, in the course of the eighteenth century, England and France removed all obstacles to marriage and settlement, and other nations followed their example. During three-fourths of the eighteenth century political economists as well as the governments considered a large population the greatest good fortune to the state. Only at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century a reversion of opinion took place. This was due to economic crises and to warlike and revolutionary events, that continued during the first half of the nineteenth century, especially in Germany and Austria. The age at which marriage was permitted was raised again, and proofs were required showing that the contracting parties were assured of a certain amount of wealth or a secure income, and could

maintain a given standard of living. To the destitute, marriage was made impossible, and the municipalities were given a great influence in determining under what conditions marriages might be contracted. Occasionally peasants were even forbidden to build their little homes, or compelled to tear them down when they had been built without princely permission. Only in Prussia and Saxony the marriage laws remained comparatively liberal. Since human nature will not be suppressed, the result of all these hindrances to marriage was, that in spite of all the harrassing and persecution, illicit relations greatly increased, and that in some German states the number of illegal children was almost as great as that of the legal ones. Such was the fruit of a paternal government that prided itself on its Christian morality.

3.—The French Revolution and the Rise of Industry.

In those days the married woman of the middle class lived in severe domestic retirement. The number of her domestic duties was so large, that it was necessary for the conscientious housewife to be at her post from morning till night, and frequently she could accomplish all her tasks only with the aid of her daughters. It was necessary to perform not only those daily domestic tasks that are still performed by the present-day housekeeper, but also many others from which modern woman has been freed by the industrial development. She had to spin, weave and bleach, cut and sew all the garments, manufacture tallow-candles and soap, and brew the beer. She was indeed a perfect Cinderella and her only relaxation was going to church on Sunday. Marriages were contracted only within the same social circle. A severe and ridiculous caste feeling dominated all social relations. The daughters were educated in the same spirit and were maintained in close domestic confinement. Their education was insignificant, and their intellectuel horizon did not extend beyond the commonplace domestic relations. To this was added an empty superficial formality, that was supposed to make up for the lack of intellect and education, making woman's life a sheer treadmill. The spirit of the reformation had degenerated into the worst

kind of pedantry; the most natural human desires and the joy of life were crushed beneath a mass of apparently dignified, but soul-killing rules of behavior. Emptiness and narrow-mindedness dominated the middle class, and the lower classes lived under a leaden pressure and in wretched conditions.

Then came the French revolution. It swept away the old political and social order in France, and also wafted a breath of its spirit to Germany, that could not long be resisted. French rule especially had a revolutionizing effect upon Germany; it swept away what was old and decrepit or, at least hastened its destruction. Though strenuous efforts were made during the reactionary period after 1815 to turn the course of development backward, the new conceptions had become too powerful and were victorious in the end.

Guild privileges, lack of personal freedom, market privileges and proscription were gradually laid on the shelf in the more advanced states. New mechanical inventions and improvements, especially the invention of the steam engine, and the resultant cheapening of commodities, provided employment for the masses, including also the women. Capitalistic industry was born. Factories, railroads and steamboats were built, mines and foundries, the manufacture of glass and china, the textile industry in its various branches, manufacture of tools and machinery, the building trades, etc., rapidly developed. Universities and polytechnical institutes provided the intellectual forces required by this evolution. The new class that had come into existence, the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, supported by all those who favored progress, insisted upon the abolition of conditions that had become untenable. What had been shaken by the revolution from below during the movement of 1848 and 1849, was finally abolished by the revolution from above in 1866. Political unity, according to the desire of the bourgeoisie, was established, and this was followed by the final overthrow of all the remaining economic and social barriers. Freedom of trade, right of settlement and emigration, and the repeal of laws restricting marriage followed, creating those conditions that capitalism

needed for its development. Besides the workingman, woman was the one to profit chiefly by this new development, since it opened up to her new avenues and brought her greater freedom.

Even before the new order had been introduced by the transformations of the year 1866, several German states had removed a number of the old, rigid barriers, which caused pedantic reactionaries to predict the destruction of decency and morality. In 1863 the Bishop of Mayence, von Ketteler, lamented that "to abolish the existing barriers to marriage meant the destruction of marriage itself, since now married couples were enabled to leave each other at will." This lament contains the unintentional confession that in modern marriages the moral bonds are so weak, that man and wife can be kept together only by force.

Since marriages now were contracted much more frequently than before this period, a rapid increase of population resulted. This fact, and the fact that the new, rapidly developing industrial system created social problems that had not previously existed, caused the fear of over-population to spring up again, as it did in former periods. It will be shown what this fear of over-population amounts to; we will test its true value.

CHAPTER VII.

Woman as a Sex Being.

1.—The Sexual Impulse.

In present-day bourgeois society woman holds the second place. Man leads; she follows. The present relation is diametrically opposite to that which prevailed during the matriarchal period. The evolution from primitive communism to the rule of private property has primarily brought about this transformation.

Plato thanked the gods for eight favors they had bestowed upon him. The first was that he had been born a free-man instead of a slave, and the second was that he had been born a man instead of a woman. A similar thought is expressed in the morning prayer of the Jews. They pray: "Be thou praised God our Lord and Lord of the earth, **who hast not created me a woman.**" In the prayer uttered by the Jewish women the corresponding passage is worded: **"Who hast created me according to thy will."** The contrast in the respective positions of the sexes could not be more forcibly expressed than in this utterance of Plato and the prayer of the Jews. Man is the real human being according to numerous passages in the Bible, and both the English and French languages furnish proofs of this conception, since the word "man" denotes both male and human being. When speaking of the people we usually think of men only. Woman is a factor of slight importance, and man is her master. Men generally consider this state of affairs quite proper, and the majority of women still accept it as a divine ordinance. In this prevailing conception the present position of woman is reflected.

Regardless of the question whether woman is oppressed as a proletarian, we must recognize that in this

world of private property she is oppressed as a sex being. On all sides she is hemmed in by restrictions and obstacles unknown to the man. Many things a man may do she is prohibited from doing; many social rights and privileges enjoyed by him, are considered a fault or a crime in her case. She suffers both socially and as a sex being. It is hard to say in which respect she suffers more, and therefore it only seems natural that many women wish they had been born men instead of having been born women.

Of all the natural desires that are a part of human life, beside the desire for food in order to live, the sexual desire is strongest. The impulse of race preservation is the most powerful expression of the "will to live." This impulse is deeply implanted in every normally developed human being, and upon attaining maturity its satisfaction is essential to physical and mental welfare. Luther was right when he said: "He who would thwart the natural impulse, seeks to prevent nature from being nature, fire from burning, water from moistening, man from eating and drinking and sleeping." These words ought to be engraved above the portals of our churches in which the "sinful flesh" is so vehemently denounced. No physician or physiologist could more accurately express the necessity of satisfying the human desire for love.

If the human organism is to devlop normally and healthfully it is essential that no portion of the human body should be neglected, and that no natural impulse should be denied its normal satisfaction. Every organ should perform the functions which it has been destined by nature to perform, unless the whole organism is to suffer. The laws of the physical development of man must be studied and observed as well as the laws of mental development. The mental activity of a human being depends upon the physiological condition of his organs. Physical and mental vigor are closely linked. An injury to one has a detrimental effect upon the other. The so-called animal instincts are not inferior to mental requirements. Both are products of the same organism and are mutually interdependent. This applies to both man and woman. Hence it follows that knowledge of the

nature of the sexual organs is as necessary as that of all other organs, and that the same attention should be bestowed upon their care. We ought to know that organs and impulses implanted in every human being constitute a very important part of our existence, that they as a matter of fact **predominate** during certain periods of life, and that therefore they must not be objects of secrecy, false shame and complete ignorance. It follows furthermore that among both men and women knowledge of the physiology and anatomy of the various organs and their functions should be as widely diffused as any other branch of human knowledge. Endowed with an exact knowledge of his physical nature, man would take a different view of many circumstances. This knowledge would lead to the removal of many evils that society at present passes by silently, in solemn awe, but that nevertheless claim consideration in almost every family. In regard to all other matters knowledge is considered a virtue; it is regarded as the loftiest, most desirable human aim. But we decry konwledge pertaining to **those** matters that are most closely linked with our own "ego" and are at the bottom of all social development.

Kant says: "Man and woman together form the full and complete human being; one sex supplements the other." Schopenhauer says: "The sexual impulse is the most complete expression of the will to live, it is the concentration of will"; and long before these Buddha thus expressed himself: "The sexual impulse is sharper than the prod by means of which wild elephants are tamed; it is hotter than flames; it is like an arrow driven into the soul of man."

Such being the intensity of sexual impulse, it is not to be wondered at that with both men and women sexual abstinence frequently leads to serious disorders of the nervous system, and in some cases even to insanity and suicide. Of course, not all natures manifest an equally strong sexual impulse. It can also be restrained to a great extent by education and self-control, especially by avoiding the stimulant of lewd conversation and literature, alcoholism, etc. It is held that the sexual impulse is weaker among women than among men, and that

sometimes women even feel revulsion against sexual contact. But these constitute a small minority whose physiological and psychological dispositions are peculiarly constituted.

We may say that the manner in which the natural desires of the sexes are expressed, both in their organic and physical development, in form and in character, marks the degree of perfection of a human being, be it man or woman. Each sex has attained its own highest development. "Among civilized human beings," says Klenke in his essay on "Woman as a Wife," "sexual intercourse is controlled by moral principles dictated by common sense. But nothing could ever fully subdue the instinct of race preservation, implanted by nature in both sexes. Wherever healthy male or female individuals failed to fulfill this **duty,** it was **not of their own free will,** though they may deceive themselves into believing it, **but was a result of social hindrances and restrictions.** These hindrances have impeded the laws of nature, have stunted the organs, and have transformed the whole organism into an atrophied type both in appearance and in character and have caused nervous disorders that bring about abnormal, pathological conditions of body and mind. The man becomes effeminate; the woman becomes masculine in form and character, because the sexual contrast has not been realized; because such particular human being remained one-sided, failing to attain his own integration, the full height of his existence.' Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell says in her essay on "The Moral Education of the Young in Relation to Sex": "Sexual impulse exists as an inevitable condition of life and the foundation of society. It is the greatest power in human nature. . . . While undeveloped it is not an object of the thoughts, but it remains nevertheless the **central force of life.** This inevitable impulse is the natural guardian against all possibility of destruction."* Practical Luther has positive advice to offer. He advises: "Let him who has no desire for chastity look about him

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*E. Blackwell, "Essays in Medical Sociology." Page 177. London, 1906.

for work and turn to matrimony; a boy at the latest when he is twenty, a girl when she is fifteen or eighteen years of age. Then they are healthy and skillful and trust to God to provide for them and their children. God gives them the children and he will provide for them." Unfortunately our social conditions make it impossible to follow Luther's good advice, and neither the Christian state nor Christian society believes in trusting to God to provide for the children.

Science, the views of the philosophers, and Luther's sound common sense, all are agreed that man is entitled to normal satisfaction of those desires that are part and parcel of his very life. If social institutions or prejudices make this impossible, his development is hampered thereby. The results are well known to our physicians, and can be met with in hospitals, insane asylums, prisons, and in thousands of disrupted families. In a book published in Leipsic we find the following thought expressed: "Sexual impulse is neither moral nor immoral; it is simply natural like hunger and thirst. Nature knows nothing of morality." But organized society is very far from recognizing the truth of this sentence.

2.—Celibacy and the Frequency of Suicide.

Among physicians and physiologists it is generally assumed that even an imperfect marriage is preferable to celibacy, and this assumption is substantiated by experience. It is a striking fact that the rate of mortality is lower among married than among unmarried people (comparing about 1,000 married persons 30 years old with 1,000 unmarried persons of the same age). The difference is especially marked in the case of men. During some periods of life the rate of mortality among unmarried men is almost twice as great as that among married men. Mortality is likewise very great among men who have become widowers while still young.*

It is furthermore claimed that the number of suicides are increased by unsound sexual relations. In all countries suicides are much more frequent among men than

*Dr. G. Schnapper-Arndt: "Social Statistics," Leipsic, 1908.

among women. The following table shows the ratio in various European countries:

	During the years.	Among 100,000 —suicides.— Male.	Female.	Ratio of female to male suicides.
Germany	1899—1902	33.0	8.4	25.5
Austria	1898—1901	25.4	7.0	27.6
Switzerland ...	1896—1903	33.3	6.4	19.2
Italy	1893—1901	9.8	2.4	24.5
France	1888—1892	35.5	9.7	27.3
Netherlands ...	1901—1902	9.3	3.0	32.3
England	1891—1900	13.7	4.4	32.1
Scotland	1891—1900	9.0	3.2	35.6
Ireland	1901	2.3	1.2	52.2
Norway	1891—1900	10.0	2.5	25.
Sweden	1891—1900	21.1	8.6	40.8
Finland	1891—1900	7.8	1.8	21.1
European Russia	1885—1894	4.9	1.6	32.7

During the years 1898 to 1907 we find the following ratio of suicides in the German Empire:

Year.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Year.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1898..	10,835	8,544	2,291	1902..	12,336	9,765	2,571
1899..	10,761	8,460	2,301	1904..	12,468	9,704	2,764
1900..	11,393	8,987	2,406	1907..	12,777	9,753	3,024

For each 100 male suicides there were female suicides: During 1898, 26.8; during 1899, 27.2; during 1900, 26.8; during 1904, 28.5; during 1907, 31. But during the period of life from the fifteenth to the thirtieth year, the rate of suicide is higher among women than among men.

The following table shows the ratio between the 15th and 20th, and between the 21st and 30th year:

	During the years.	15th to 20th year. Male.	Female.	21st to 30th year. Male.	Female.
Prussia	1896—1900	5.3	10.7	16.	20.2
Denmark ...	1896—1900	4.6	8.3	12.4	14.8
Switzerland .	1884—1899	3.3	6.7	16.1	21.
France	1887—1891	3.5	8.2	10.9	14. *

*H. Krose, "Causes of the Frequency of Suicide." Freiburg, 1906.

The following table shows the ratio of male and female suicides in Saxony between the 21st and 30th year:

	Men.	Women.
1854—1868.....	14.95	18.64
1868—1880.....	14.71	18.79
1881—1888.....	15.3	22.3

We find an increased number of suicides among widowed and divorced persons also. In Saxony among divorced men the rate of suicide is seven times as high, among divorced women three times as high, as the average rate of suicide among men and women. Also suicide is more frequent among those widowed or divorced men and women who are childless. Among the unmarried women who are driven to suicide between the 21st and 30th year, there are many who have been betrayed in love or have "gone wrong." Statistics show that an increase of illegal births is generally accompanied by an increase of female suicides. The rate of female suicides between the 16th and 21st year is exceptionally high, which also points to the conclusion that ungratified sexual impulse, love-sorrow, secret pregnancy or the deceit of men constitute frequent causes.

In regard to the position of woman as a sex being, we find the following thought expressed by Professor Krafft-Ebing*: "One source of lunacy among women that should not be underrated, is their social position. Woman is by nature more desirous of love than man, at least in the ideal sense, and she has no honorable means of gratifying this desire except marriage (Mandsley). Marriage is, furthermore, her only means of livelihood. Through countless generations her character has been developed in this direction. Even the little girl is mother to her doll. Modern life with its increased demands is constantly diminishing the prospects of satisfaction through marriage. This is especially true of the upper classes where marriages are contracted less frequently and later in life.

"While man owing to his greater physical and intellectual force and his free social position, readily obtains

*Text-book of Psychiatry—Stuttgart 1883.

satisfaction of his sexual impulse, or at least finds an equivalent in some life's work that requires all his strength, these paths are barred to the unmarried women of the upper classes. This leads, consciously or unconsciously, to dissatisfaction with one's self and the world and to morbid brooding. For some time compensation is sought in religion, but in vain. The religious fanaticism, with or without masturbation, leads to a number of nervous disorders that frequently culminate in hysteria or insanity. This explains the fact that unmarried women fall victims to insanity most frequently between the 25th and 35th year of life. It is that period when the bloom of youth fades and hope fades with it; while among men insanity most frequently occurs between the 35th and 50th year, the period during which the struggle for existence makes its greatest demands upon their strength.

"It is not a mere coincidence that with the decline in the marriage rate the question of the emancipation of women is becoming more and more urgent. I regard it as a signal of distress showing that woman's position in modern society is steadily becoming more unbearable. It is a just demand that woman should be given an equivalent for that which has been assigned to her by nature and of which she is being deprived by modern social conditions."

In speaking of the effect of ungratified sexual impulse on unmarried women, Dr. H. Ploss says: "It is a noteworthy fact, of interest not only to the physician but to the anthropologist as well, that an infallible remedy exists whereby the process of fading bloom, so manifest in old maids, cannot only be arrested, but the already vanished bloom of youth can even be reinstated, partly at least, if not in its entire charm. Unfortunately our social conditions rarely permit its application. This remedy is a regular, orderly, sexual intercourse. We can often observe that when an elderly girl is still fortunate enough to attain matrimony, a marked change in her appearance takes place shortly after her marriage. Her shape obtains its former roundness, the roses return to her cheeks, and her eyes regain their former bright-

ness. Marriage then is a real fountain of youth to the female sex. Thus nature has its fixed laws that inexorably demand obedience, and every unnatural mode of life, every attempt to adapt the organism to conditions of life that are not in keeping with the laws of nature, inevitably leaves marked traces of degeneration. This is true of both the animal and the human organism."

The question now presents itself: Does society fulfill the demands for a rational mode of life, especially in the woman's case? If it does not, we are confronted by a second question: Can society fulfill them? If this question also must be answered in the negative, a third question ensues: How can they be fulfilled?

CHAPTER VIII.

MODERN MARRIAGE.

1.—Marriage as a Profession.

"Marriage and the family are the foundations of the state. Whoever, therefore, attacks marriage and the family, is attacking society and the state and undermining both." Thus exclaim the defenders of the present order. Monogamic marriage as has been sufficiently shown, is the outcome of the system of gain and property that has been established by bourgeois society, and therefore undoubtedly forms one of its basic principles. But whether it is adapted to natural needs and to a healthy development of human society is a different question. We will show that this marriage, which depends upon the bourgeois system of property, is a more or less forced relation, having many disadvantages, and frequently fulfilling its purpose only insufficiently or not at all. We will, furthermore, show that it is a social institution which is and remains inattainable to millions of persons, instead of being a free union founded on love, the only union suited to nature's purposes.

John Stuart Mills says in regard to modern marriage: "Marriage is the only real bondage recognized by law." According to Kant's conception man and

woman together constitute the perfect human being. Upon a normal union of the sexes the healthy development of mankind depends. Satisfaction of the sexual impulse is essential to the sound physical and mental development of both man and woman. But man has gone beyond the animal stage, and so is not contented by the mere physical satisfaction of his sexual impulse. He requires intellectual attraction as well, and the existence of a certain harmony between himself and the person with whom he enters into union. Where such intellectual harmony fails to exist, the sexual intercourse is purely mechanical and thereby becomes immoral. Men and women of refinement demand a mutual attraction that extends beyond their sexual relations, **and that shall have an ennobling effect upon the new beings which may spring from their union.*** The fact that such a standard of ideals fails to exist in countless present-day marriages caused Varnhagen von Ense to write: "Whatever we saw about us both of marriages already contracted, and of marriages about to be contracted, was not likely to implant in us a good opinion of such unions. On the contrary; the entire institution which is supposed to be founded on mutual love and respect and is instead founded on anything but that, seemed coarse and despicable to us, and we fully agreed with Friedrich Schlegel, whose opinion on this subject we found expressed in the fragments of 'Antheneum': Almost all marriages are concubinages; they are at best remote approaches to the true marriage, which should be a blending of two persons into one." This is quite in keeping with the views of Kant.

The joy in having progeny and the responsibility toward same makes the relation of love existing between two persons one of longer duration. A couple desirous

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*"The sentiments and feelings with which husband and wife approach one another undoubtedly have a decisive influence upon the effects of sexual intercourse and transmit certain traits of character upon the being that is coming into existence." Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, "The Moral Education of the Young in Relation to Sex."—See also Goethe's "Affinity," where he distinctly shows the effects of the feelings that prompt two human beings to intimate intercourse.

of entering marriage should therefore carefully consider whether their respective traits of character are suited to their union. The answer to this grave question ought to be unbiased. But that is only possible by the exclusion of every other interest that has no direct bearing on the purpose of the union, satisfaction of the sexual impulse and propagation of one's own personality by means of propagation of the race, guided by a certain measure of insight that controls blind passion. As these conditions fail to be observed in a tremendous number of cases in present-day society, it is evident that modern marriage frequently fails to fulfill its true object and that we are not justified in regarding it as an ideal institution.

How many marriages are contracted on an entirely different basis than the one described above cannot be demonstrated. The parties concerned like to have their marriage appear different from what it really is. Here a condition of hypocrisy presents itself, such as no previous social period has known in a similar degree. The state, the political representative of society, has no inclination to institute investigations that would cast an unfavorable light upon society. The state itself marries its officials and servants according to maxims **that cannot be measured by the standard that should constitute the foundation of true marriage.**

2.—Decline of the Birthrate.

Marriage, in order to realize the purpose of nature, should be a union founded on mutual love. But this motive is rarely met with unalloyed under present conditions. To the great majority of women, marriage is a means of livelihood that they must obtain at any cost. On the other hand, a great many men regard marriage from a purely commercial point of view, weighing and considering its material advantages and disadvantages. Even those marriages that are not based on selfish, sordid motives, are frequently marred and broken up by the harsh realities of life. Only rarely those hopes are realized that were held by a man and woman prior to their marriage. That is only natural. For in order to lead a

contented married life not only mutual love and respect are required, but **economic security** as well; that is, a certain measure of the necessities and comforts of life in order to satisfy the needs of man and wife and their children. Material cares and the cruel struggle for existence are destructive to marital contentment and happiness. But these material cares increase with the increasing number of offspring; in other words, **the better marriage fulfills its natural object, the greater become these cares.** The peasant, for instance, takes pleasure in every new calf that his cow brings forth, he cheerfully counts his suckling pigs and relates the good news of their arrival to his neighbors. But he looks somber when a new baby is added to the number of children that he feels able to support without care—not a large number, forsooth—and he looks doubly somber if the newly-born babe has the ill fortune of being a girl.

We may say then that both marriages and births are controlled by economic conditions. This is especially evident in France where agriculture is carried on by a division of the land into small lots, the products of which are not sufficient to support a large family. The famous, or notorious, French system of having no more than two children, a system that has developed into a social institution in France, is the result. In many provinces the population is accordingly almost stationary, while in others there has been a marked decline. The same results that the methods of farming have produced in the rural districts, have been produced in the cities by industry. In fact, the birthrate is declining even more rapidly in the cities.

The number of births is constantly decreasing in France, in spite of the fact that the number of marriages is increasing. This is true not only of France, but of the majority of civilized countries. This fact points to a development produced by our social conditions that should make the ruling classes think. In 1881, 937,057 children were born in France; in 1906, 806,847, and in 1907, only 773,969. In 1907, 163,088 fewer children were born than in 1881. It is a noteworthy fact that the number of illegitimate births did not decrease. There were

70,079 of these in 1881; during the period from 1881 to 1890 they attained their highest figure, 75,754, and in 1906 there still were 70,866. The decline of the birthrate then was confined entirely to the legitimate births. During the entire century a decline of the birthrate was noticeable. The following table shows the number of births for every thousand inhabitants of France during more than a century:

1801—1810..332	1841—1850..273	1891—1900..221
1811—1820..316	1851—1860..262	1905.....206
1821—1830..308	1861—1870..261	1906.....206
1831—1840..290	1881—1890..239	1907.....197

This represents a decline of 135 births for every thousand inhabitants from 1801 to 1907. It is natural that this symptom is a cause of much concern to French statesmen and economists. But the problem is not confined to France. Since a long time the same phenomenon may be observed in Germany, especially in Saxony, where the decline of the birthrate has been even more rapid. In Germany there were the following number of births for every thousand inhabitants:

1875.....423	1890.....370	1905.....340
1880.....391	1895.....373	1906.....341
1885.....385	1900.....368	1907.....332

The majority of the other European countries present a similar condition, as the following table shows:

For every 1,000 inhabitants.

	1871 to 1880	1881 to 1890	1891 to 1900	1901 to 1905	1907
England & Wales	35.4	32.5	29.9	28.1	26.3
Scotland	34.9	32.3	30.2	28.9	27.
Ireland	26.5	23.4	23.	23.2	23.2
Sweden	30.5	29.1	27.2	26.1	25.5
Italy	36.9	37.8	34.9	32.6	31.5
Austria	39.	37.9	37.1	35.8	35.
Hungary	44.3	44.0	40.6	37.2	36.
Belgium	32.3	30.2	39.	27.7	25.7
Switzerland	30.8	28.1	28.1	28.1	26.8
Netherlands	36.2	34.2	32.5	31.5	30.

The decline of the birthrate then is a general one, and though France and Ireland show the lowest figures, the decline is most rapid in England, Germany and Scotland. We meet with the same phenomenon in the United States and Australia. The fact presents itself still more strikingly if we proceed to compare the number of births with the number of married women between the 15th and 49th year of age:

LEGITIMATE CHILDREN BORN TO 1,000 MARRIED WOMEN BETWEEN THE FIFTEENTH AND FORTY-NINTH YEAR.

DECADES	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Denmark	Norway	Sweden	Finland	Austria	Hungary	Switzerland
1876 to 1885	250	271	250	244	262	240	259	246	234	239
1886 to 1895	259	255	245	235	259	231	246	250	235	230
1896 to 1905	203	235	264	217	246	219	244	242	216	225

DECADES	German Empire	Prussia	Bavaria	Saxony	Wurtemberg	Baden	Netherlands	Belgium	France	Italy
1876 to 1885	268	273	276	267	288	266	293	264	167	248
1886 to 1895	258	265	263	250	259	248	286	236	150	249
1896 to 1905	243	250	259	216	262	251	272	213	132	232

The above enumerated facts go to prove that the birth of a human being, "God's image," as religious persons say, is, on an average, estimated below the value of a newly-born domestic animal.

In many respects our views differ but slightly from those of barbarian people. Among the latter, newly-born children were often killed. This fate especially befell the girls. Among some living savages the same custom still prevails. We do not kill the girls; we are too civilized for that, but frequently we treat them as parias. Man, being the stronger, everywhere represses woman in the struggle for existence, and if she still persists in the struggle, she is often persecuted by the stronger sex as

an undesirable competitor. Men of the upper classes are especially bitter against female competition. Among workingmen the demand to exclude women from the trades is voiced only rarely. When a resolution formulating such a demand was presented at a congress of French workingmen in 1876, it was voted down by a large majority. Since that time the conviction that the working woman is a fellow being entitled to equal rights and privileges, has grown among the class-conscious workingmen of all countries. The resolutions passed by international workingmen's congresses prove this. The class-conscious workingman knows that present industrial conditions compel woman to enter into competition with man. He also knows, that an attempt to exclude woman from industry would be as futile as an attempt to forbid the use of machinery. Therefore he endeavors to instruct woman in regard to her position in society **and to enlist her aid in the struggle for freedom of the proletariat against capitalism.**

3.—Mercenary Marriage and the Matrimonial Market.

Modern society has undoubtedly advanced beyond any previous stage of development, but our conceptions concerning the relation of the sexes has in many respects remained unchanged. In 1876 Prof. L. v. Stein published a book on "Woman in the Field of Political Economy," that is not suited to its title, since it merely draws a very poetically tinted picture of marriage. But this picture clearly shows the submissive position of woman in her relation to the "lion," man. Stein writes: "Man desires a being who not only loves him but also understands him. He seeks one who is not only devoted to him, but whose soft hand smoothes the wrinkles on his forehead; who brings into his life peace, calm, order, gentle self-control, and all the many little comforts of life to which he returns daily. He needs some one to enhance all these things with the inexpressible charm of womanliness, imparting warmth and joy to his home."

Beneath this apparent praise of woman lurks her degradation and the egotism of man. The professor

depicts woman as a dainty creature, endowed nevertheless with the needful knowledge of arithmetic to keep the household accounts well balanced, caressing like a gentle spring breeze the master of the house, the ruling lion, and with her soft hand smoothing the wrinkles from his forehead, that perhaps have appeared there from brooding over his own stupidity. The professor depicts woman and marriage such as barely one among a hundred actually exist.

About the many thousand unhappy marriages, about the great number of women to whom it is never given to attain marriage, and about the millions of women who must slave beside their husbands from morning till night to earn their daily bread, he seems to see and know nothing whatever. All these marriages are stripped of poetry by the harsh reality of life, more quickly than a careless hand strips the colored dust from a butterfly's wing. One glance at those countless women sufferers would have greatly marred the professor's poetically tinted picture. The women he observes only constitute a small minority, and it is doubtful whether they represent an advanced type.

There is a frequently quoted saying, that the degree of civilization attained by a nation may be measured by the position of its women. We uphold the justice of this saying. But upon applying this standard we find that our highly lauded civilization does not amount to much. In his book on the "Subjection of Women"—the title shows the conception of the position of woman held by the author—John Stuart Mills says: "Men have become more domesticated. Increasing civilization has put more fetters on man in regard to woman." That is true to some extent wherever an honest marriage relation exists between husband and wife. But to a considerably large minority it does not apply. Intelligent men will recognize, that it is to their own advantage, if women are drawn out into the world from their narrow domestic sphere, and are given an opportunity to become acquainted with the great problems of the day. The "fetters" that are

thereby placed on him, are not hard to bear. On the other hand, the question arises whether modern life has not brought new factors into the matrimonial relation that are more apt to destroy marriage than any previously known.

Marriage has become an object of material calculation in a marked degree. The man who wishes to marry, in seeking to obtain a wife, also seeks to obtain property. That was the chief reason why daughters, who were at first excluded from the right of inheritance when the patriarchal system came into power, were at an early period reinstated to this right. But never before was the marriage market as openly and cynically displayed as to-day; never before was marriage regarded in the same degree as a simple speculation, a mere financial transaction. At present match-making is frequently carried on so shamelessly, that the often-repeated phrase about the "sanctity of marriage" becomes a farce. Still, for this fact, as for all others, an explanation can be found. At no previous time was it so difficult for the great majority of people to accumulate a modest fortune, as it is at present, and at no previous time was the striving for a decent livelihood and the enjoyment of life so general. Those who do not attain the aim they have set for themselves feel their disappointment all the more keenly, because all believe to have the same right to enjoyment. No formal difference of class or caste exists. Everyone hopes to attain some aim that seems attainable in accordance with his station in life. But many are called and few are chosen. In order that one may live in comfort, twenty others must live in want; and in order that one may revel in luxury, hundreds or thousands must dwell in poverty. But everyone is eager to be one of the favored few, and accordingly resorts to all means that are likely to lead him to his goal. One of the simplest and most accessible means of attaining a privileged social position is a mercenary marriage. In this way the desire for money, on the one side, and the desire for social rank and title, on the other, obtain mutual satisfaction among the upper classes of society. Here marriage is degraded

to a business transaction. It becomes a conventional union that both sides respect outwardly, while secretly both all too often follow their own inclinations.*

In every large city there are certain places where upon definite days members of the upper classes come together, chiefly for the purpose of match-making. Rightly have these reunions been called the "matrimonial market"; for just as on the stock market, speculation and barter dominate, and not infrequently fraud and deception enter into the dealings. Here we find officers of the army, over head and ears in debt, but possessing some ancient title of nobility; roués, weakened by a life of debauchery, who seek a wife to nurse them and hope to mend their shattered health in marriage; manufacturers, merchants and bankers, who are at the verge of bankruptcy, sometimes at the verge of imprisonment and who wish to be saved, and public officials who have prospects of promotion, but are in need of money; here they come as customers and conclude the marriage bargain. In these marriages it frequently is deemed quite immaterial whether the future wife is young or old, pretty or ugly, well-built or deformed, educated or ignorant, pious or

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*For the sake of completeness we must also mention marriage for political reasons as contracted in the highest circles. In these marriages the right is also silently conceded to the man to follow his own inclinations outside of his marriage. There was a time when rulers considered it good form, a sort of royal attribute, to have at least one mistress. Thus, according to Sherr, King Frederick William I. of Prussia, otherwise noted for his temperate life, maintained an intimate relation with the wife of a general. It is well known that King August of Poland and Saxony had almost 300 illegitimate children, and that King Victor Emanuel of Italy left 32 illegitimate children. In the picturesquely situated little capital of a German principality there still stood not many years ago about a dozen beautiful villas that had been erected by the ruler for his abdicated mistresses. One might write volumes on this subject; in fact, an extensive collection of books exists that deal mainly with these piquant occurrences. In view of these facts it is indeed very necessary that sycophantical historians should strive to present the various fathers and mothers of their countries as models of domestic virtue, as faithful husbands and devoted mothers. The augurs are not yet extinct, they fatten, as in the days of Rome, upon the ignorance of the masses.

frivolous, a Christian or a Jewess, provided that she has money. Money redeems all faults and compensates for the lack of anything else. According to the German law, procurers are severely punished by imprisonment. But when parents or guardians barter their children or relatives to some unloved man or woman for life, for the sake of wealth, social position or some other advantage, no public prosecutor may interfere, and yet a crime has been committed. There are many well-organized matrimonial agencies, and any number of procurers and procuresses who are searching candidates for the "sacred wedded state." These transactions are especially profitable when performed in the interest of members of the upper classes. In 1878 a procuress was tried in Vienna who had been accused of being an accomplice in murder, and was finally sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. Among other things the trial revealed that the former French ambassador to Vienna, Count Banneville, had paid this woman 22,000 guilders for procuring a wife for him. Other members of the aristocracy were also involved in this trial. For years the authorities had permitted this woman to ply her criminal trade unmolested. In the capital of the German Empire similar occurrences were reported. They are met with wherever there are persons seeking to contract mercenary marriages. During the last few decades the daughters and heiresses of American millionaires have become special objects of desire to the pauperized European nobility. These American women, on the other hand, have exchanged their millions for the rank and title that are unknown in their own country. A number of communications, published in the German press during the fall of 1889, contained some characteristic information on this subject. According to this a German nobleman living in California had offered his services as a match-maker by advertising in German and Austrian papers. The offers he received in return clearly show the conceptions prevailing in the circles concerned, in regard to the sanctity of marriage and its ethical side. Two Prussian army officers, members of an ancient nobility, sought his services, and frankly stated as the reason of their doing so, the fact,

that together they owed over 15,000 dollars. In their letter to the procurer they literally wrote: "It is self-understood that we cannot pay anything in advance. You will receive your remuneration immediately after the wedding journey. Only recommend ladies to us whose families are in no wise objectionable. We would also consider it very desirable to meet ladies who are particularly good-looking. If required, we will give your agent our photographs, who can also give us further details, show us the ladies' photographs, etc. We regard this whole transaction as an affair of **honor** (!) and expect the same of you. We expect an early reply through your agent on this side.

"Baron v. M.....
"Baron v. W.....

"Berlin, Frederick St. 107, Dec. 15, 1889."

A young German nobleman, Hans v. H..... wrote from London that he were five foot ten, of ancient nobility, and employed in diplomatic service. He confessed that his fortune had been greatly diminished by unsuccessful betting at the races, and that he was therefore compelled to seek a rich wife. "I am prepared," he wrote, "to come to the United States immediately." The German-American nobleman asserted that besides a number of counts, barons, etc., he had counted among his customers three princes and sixteen dukes. Some men who were not the proud possessors of a title bargained for American heiresses likewise. An architect, Max W. from Leipsic, asked for a fiancée who must be rich, beautiful and cultured. A young manufacturer, Robert D., from Kehl on the Rhine, wrote that he would content himself with a fiancée owning 100,000 dollars, and promised in advance that he would make her happy. But we need not look far to find further instances of this sort. We need but glance at the matrimonial advertisements in many of our capitalistic papers to recognize them as the outward signs of degrading views. The prostitute who plies her trade as a result of bitter need is morally superior to these marriage seekers. The editor of a Socialist paper who should venture to publish such advertisements would be expelled from his party. The

capitalistic press does not hesitate to publish such advertisements, because they pay. But that does not prevent this same press from railing against the Socialistic principles as being destructive of marriage. No age has been more hypocritical than ours. Most of these newspapers are nothing more or less than matrimonial agencies. One might fill entire pages with clippings taken from leading newspapers on a single day. Sometimes the interesting fact is revealed, that even ministers are sought in this way and that ministers also resort to this method to seek wives. Sometimes the applicants even consent to overlook a moral blemish, provided that the girl is rich. The moral degradation of certain strata of society could not be more vividly exposed than by this sort of marriage.

CHAPTER IX.

Disruption of the Family.

1.—Increase of Divorce.

The part played by church and state in this sort of "sacred marriage" is not a worthy one. The state official or the officiating clergyman whose task it is to perform the marriage ceremony, never pauses to consider by what methods the couple he is about to join in wedlock have been brought together. It may be quite evident, that the two are in no wise mated either in regard to their ages or in regard to physical and mental qualities; the bride may, for instance, be tweny and the groom seventy, or vice versa; the bride may be beautiful and full of vitality, the groom may be old, cross and inflicted with infirmities, it makes no difference to the representative of state and church. The marriage is consecrated, and the consecration is most solemn in character where the monetary reward for this "holy function" is most generous. But when such a marriage turns out to be an exceedingly unhappy one, as could have been foreseen by anybody, and frequently was foreseen by the unfor-

tunate victim itself—the woman generally being the victim—and when one or the other party then seeks separation, both church and state place the greatest difficulties in their way. Yet neither church nor state questioned in advance whether love and moral sentiments, or shameless, coarse egotism brought about the union. Moral revulsion is not considered sufficient cause for separation; obvious proofs are demanded, proofs that will degrade one or the other party in public opinion, to make divorce possible. That the Catholic Church does not permit divorce at all, except by special permission from the pope, which is very hard to obtain, makes conditions particularly unfavorable among the Catholic population. The German code of civil law has also made divorce much more difficult. Thus divorce by mutual consent, that had been permitted by Prussian law, was abolished. Many divorces had been granted under this law, some for more serious reasons that were concealed out of regard for the guilty party. In Berlin, for instance, there were 5,623 divorces from 1886 until 1892; 1,400 of these, approximately 25 per cent., were granted upon mutual consent. In many cases divorce is granted only then, when the party seeking divorce does so within six months after discovery of the cause for divorce. According to Prussian law, the time limit is one year. Take, for example, that a young wife discovers soon after her marriage, that she is tied to a man who is no husband to her at all. It is asking a great deal that she should determine on divorce within six months, a step that requires a considerable amount of moral strength. To justify the increased difficulty in divorce, the following argument is advanced: "Only by making divorce increasingly difficult, can the advancing disruption of the family be counteracted and the family bonds be strengthened." This argument is a contradiction in itself. A disrupted marriage is not made bearable by forcing husband and wife to continue living together in spite of their inward estrangement and mutual aversion. A condition of this sort, maintained by law, is profoundly immoral. The result is that in a large number of cases adultery is made a cause for divorce, since this

cause cannot be ignored by the law; neither the state nor society are improved by this process. It must also be regarded as a concession to the Catholic Church, that in many cases separation takes the place of divorce which was formerly not the case according to civil law. It is no longer considered a cause for divorce, when through the fault of the one party, a marriage remains childless. The new German code of civil law contains the following paragraph: "The religious duties in regard to marriage are not touched upon in the rules laid down in this paragraph." This likewise is a concession to the church. It is merely ornamental in character, but it is characteristic of the spirit still prevailing in Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century. For our purposes the admission is important, that divorce was made more difficult to counteract the advancing disruption of the family.

Human beings then remain chained to one another for lifetime against their will. One party becomes a slave to the other and is forced in fulfillment of "matrimonial duties," to endure intimate embraces that perhaps seem more loathsome than harsh words and ill treatment. Rightly Mantegazza says: "There is no greater torture than to suffer the caresses of an unloved person...."* Is such marriage not worse than prostitution? Even the prostitute has a certain degree of liberty of withdrawing from her abominable trade, and if she is not the inmate of a public brothel, she may refuse herself to a man she does not wish for some reason or other. But a woman sold in marriage must endure the embraces of her husband, even though she have a hundred reasons to hate and despise him.

If the marriage has been contracted from the outset and by mutual understanding, as a mere marriage of convenience, matters are not quite as bad. Mutual obligations are considered and a bearable mode of life is found. Scandal is avoided, especially out of consideration for the children, where such exist; and yet it must be said that the children are the ones to suffer most

*The Physiology of Love.

when their parents lead a cold, indifferent life, devoid of love, even if it does not deteriorate into a life of open hostility. More frequently yet an agreement is accomplished to avoid material loss. Usually the husband's misbehavior is the cause of trouble in marriage; that may be seen from the divorce cases. When a man remains dissatisfied with his marriage his domineering position enables him to find compensation elsewhere. The woman is far less inclined to go astray, firstly because physiological reasons make a transgression much more dangerous in her case, and secondly because when she is the one to break the marital vow, it is considered a crime that society will not condone. The woman alone —be she wife, widow or maiden—has "fallen"; the man, when he commits the same sin, has, at the worst, behaved with impropriety. The same action then is judged by entirely different standards, according to whether it has been committed by a man or by a woman, and the women themselves are often most bitter and unmerciful in their condemnation of a "fallen" sister.*

As a rule, women will seek divorce only in cases of flagrant infidelity or gross ill-treatment, because they are in a dependent position and are obliged to regard marriage as a means of subsistence; also because the social position of a divorced woman is not an enviable one. She is regarded and treated more or less as a cipher. If in spite of all this women constitute the majority of plaintives in divorce cases, this goes to prove what moral tortures they must endure. In France, even before the introduction of the new divorce laws, by far the most proceedings for separation were instituted by women. Until 1884 a woman in France could sue for divorce only in case her husband brought the woman with whom he maintained an intimate relation into the domicile of

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*Alexander Dumas correctly says in "Monsieur Alphonse": "Man has created two standards of morality; one for himself, and one for woman, one that permits him to love all women, and another that permits woman as a compensation for her lost freedom, to be loved by but one man." See also Marguerite's self-accusation in "Faust."

his wife against her will. Thus proceedings for separation were instituted annually by:

	Women.	Men.		Women.	Men.
1856—1861	1,729	184	1866—1871	2,591	330
1861—1866	2,135	260	1901—1905	2,368	591

Not only were the majority of proceedings instituted by women, the figures also show that their number steadily increased. By information gathered from reliable sources it may be seen, that elsewhere also the greater number of actions for divorce and separation are instituted by women, as the following table shows:*

PERCENTAGE OF NUMBER OF PLAINTIVES.

	During the years.	Husbands.	Wives.	Husbands and wives.
DIVORCES.				
Austria	1893—1897	4.4	5.0	90.6
Roumania	1891—1895	30.6	68.9	0.5
Switzerland	1895—1899	26.4	45.4	8.2
France	1895—1899	40.0	59.1	..
Baden	1895—1899	36.0	59.1	4.9
England & Wales	1895—1899	60.4	39.6	..
Scotland	1898—1899	43.3	56.7	..
SEPARATIONS.				
Austria	1897—1899	4.9	16.6	78.5
France	1895—1899	15.9	84.1	..
England & Wales	1895—1899	3.0	97.0	..
Scotland	1898—1899	..	100.	..

In the United States, where the divorce statistics cover a period of forty years, we find the following ratio:

	1867—1886.	P. C.	1887—1906.	P. C.	1906.	P. C.
Men	112,540	34.2	316,149	33.4	23,455	32.5
Women	216,176	65.8	629,476	66.6	48,607	67.5
Total	328,716	100	945,625	100	72,062	100

The above table shows that in more than two-thirds of all divorce cases women were the plaintiffs.**

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*George v. Meyr: "Statistics and Social Science."

**Marriage and Divorce. 1887—1906. Bureau of the Census, Bulletin 96, p. 12. Washington, D. C., 1908.

In Italy we find a similar ratio. During 1887 there were 1,221 divorce cases; 593 of these were instituted by wives, 214 by husbands, 414 by both husbands and wives. In 1904 there were 2,103 cases; 1,142 by wives, 454 by husbands, and 507 by both.

Statistics teach us that the majority of divorces are sought by women, and they furthermore teach us that the number of divorces is rapidly increasing. Since the introduction of the new divorce law in France in 1884, the divorces have increased from year to year, as follows:

Years	1884.	1885.	1890.	1895.	1900.	1905.	1906.	1907.
Divorces.	1,657	4,123	6,557	7,700	7,820	10,019	10,573	10,938

In Switzerland, too, the divorce-rate is increasing. From 1886 to 1890 there were 882 divorces. From 1891 to 1895 there were 898 divorces; in 1897, 1,011; in 1898, 1,018; in 1899, 1,091; in 1905, 1,206; in 1906, 1,343. In Austria during 1899 there were 856 divorces and 133 separations. In 1900 there were 1,310 divorces and 163 separations. In 1905 there were 1,885 divorces and 262 separations. The number of divorces and separations have been doubled during a decade. In Vienna there were 148 divorces in 1870 and 1871; they increased with each succeeding year until in 1878 and 1879 there were 319 cases. Vienna being a Catholic city, divorces are not easily obtained. Nevertheless, a Viennese judge exclaimed during the eighties: "The charge of broken marriage vows is as frequent as the charge of broken windows."

The following shows the increasing divorce-rate in the United States:

Years	1867.	1886.	1895.	1902.	1906.
Divorces	9,937	25,535	40.387	61,480	72,062

If the number of divorces in relation to the population had remained the same in 1905 as in 1870, the exact number of divorces in 1905 would have been 24,000, and not 67,791, as actually was the case. The total number of divorces from 1867 to 1886 was 328,716; from 1887 to 1906, 945,625. The United States have the highest divorce-rate. For every thousand marriages there were the following number of divorces: In 1870, 81; in 1880,

107; in 1890, 148; in 1900, 200. Why is divorce more frequent in the United States than in any other country? Firstly, because in some of the states the divorce laws are less rigorous than in most of the other countries, and, secondly, **because women enjoy a freer, more independent position than in any other country of the world, and are accordingly less willing to submit to the tyranny** of husbands.

The following shows the number of divorces in Germany from 1891 to 1900:

Years	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.
Divorces	6,678	6,513	6,694	7,502	8,326
Years	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
Divorces	8,601	9,005	9,143	9,563	7,928

We see that from 1899 to 1900, the number of divorces have decreased by 1,635, because on the first of January, 1900, the new code of civil law went into effect which made divorce more difficult. But life is stronger than law. After there was a decrease in the divorce-rate from 1900 to 1902, there has been a rapid increase ever since, as the following table shows:

Years	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.
Divorces	7,964	9,069	9,933	10,868	11,147	12,180	12,489

In Saxony, too, in spite of various fluctuations, there has been a steady increase, as may be seen from the following table:

Years.	Divorces.	For each 1,000 marriages.
1836—1840	356	121
1846—1850	395	121
1871—1875	581	122
1891—1895	921	138
1896—1900	1,130	151
1901—1905	1,385	168

For each thousand marriages in Prussia there were the following number of divorces: 1881 to 1885, 67.62; 1886 to 1890, 80.55; 1891 to 1895, 86.77; 1896, 101.97; 1905, 106; 1908, 121. That is a tremendous increase. The increase of divorce is not a national but an inter-

national symptom. For each thousand marriages there were the following number of divorces in:

	1876-1880.	1881-1885.	1886-1890.	At the close of the century.
Austria	..	19.4	19.7	31.
Hungary	31.6	30.4	30.5	58.
Roumania	37.3	52.3	73.1	98.
Italy	11.8	11.3	10.6	15.
France	33.9	75.9	80.9	129.
England & Wales	6.5	7.4	7.	10.6
Scotland	12.3	13.	16.7	26.
Ireland	0.6	0.4	1.1	1.
Belgium	25.5	31.9	43.	72.
Netherlands	..	..	..	78.
Norway	13.9	12.1	19.3	33.
Sweden	28.5	28.6	31.6	45.
Finland	16.1	7.8	10.0	29.
Switzerland	220.	200.	188.	199.9

It would be a great mistake to draw conclusions from these widely diverging figures about the moral status of the various countries enumerated above. No one would claim, that cause for divorce is four times greater among the Swedish people than among the English people. The laws must be taken into consideration that make divorce more or less difficult as the case may be.* The moral status, that is, the causes making divorce appear desirable to either man or woman, are a secondary consideration. But the figures show, that the divorce-rate is increasing more rapidly than the population; that is increasing, in fact, while the marriage-rate is decreasing. We will return to this phase of the question later on. Great differences of age between husband and wife play a considerable part in divorce. That is shown by the following table gathered from official statistics in Switzerland:

*In England divorce is a privilege enjoyed by the rich. The cost of a trial is so exorbitant, that divorce becomes almost impossible to people of moderate means, especially as it necessitates a journey to London. In the whole country there is only one divorce court, which is situated in London.

NUMBER OF DIVORCES FOR EACH 1,000 MARRIAGES WITH SAME DIFFERENCE OF AGE.

	1881—1890.	1891—1900.
Man older; 26 years and more	271	328
Man older; 11 to 25 years	189	198
Man older; 1 to 10 years	193	181
Husband and wife of same age	195	190
Man younger; 1 to 10 years	226	226
Man younger; 11 to 25 years	365	431
Man younger; 26 years and more	759	870

The following statistics from Saxony during 1905 and 1906, and from Prussia from 1895 to 1905, show the divorce-rate in its relation to the various strata of society:

ANNUAL DIVORCES FOR EACH 100,000 MARRIED MEN.

	Saxony.	Prussia.
Agriculture	59	34
Industry	220	158
Commerce	297	229
Public service and learned professions	346	165

In Saxony divorces were most frequent among officials and professional men. In Prussia they were most frequent among those employed in commerce. In Saxony those employed in commerce came second; in Prussia, officials and professional men. Men employed in industry come third; 220 in Saxony, and 158 in Prussia. Those employed in agriculture furnished the lowest figures. When we compare the growing number of divorces in the cities with those among the rural population, we are led to the conclusion that the rapid development of industry, accompanied by an increasing instability of public life, makes the marriage relation more unfavorable, and adds to the factors that make for the disruption of marriage. On the other hand, the growing divorce-rate shows, that the number of women are increasing who resolve to cast off a yoke that has become unbearable.

2.—Bourgeois and Proletarian Marriage.

The corruption of marriage increases at the same rate at which the struggle for existence grows more

severe, making matrimony more and more an object of mercenary speculation. As it is becoming increasingly difficult to support a family, many men choose to refrain from marrying, and so the declamations about it being woman's duty to practice her natural profession of wifehood and motherhood, are just so many **meaningless phrases.** On the other hand, these conditions are bound to foster illegitimate relations and to increase the number of prostitutes; they also increase the number of those who fall victims to an unnatural satisfaction of the sexual impulse.

Among the ruling classes the wife is frequently degraded, just as she was in ancient Greece, to the mere functions of bearing legitimate children, acting as housekeeper, or serving as nurse to a husband ruined by a life of debauchery. For his amusement, or to gratify his desire for love, the man maintains courtesans or mistresses who live in elegance and luxury. Others who do not have the means of maintaining mistresses, associate with prostitutes during marriage as before marriage, and a number of wives are sufficiently corrupted to consider such relations quite proper.*

In the upper and middle classes of society the chief evil in marriage is its mercenary character. But this evil is still heightened by the mode of life that prevails among these classes. That applies to the women as well as to the men, since they frequently lead lives of idleness or devote themselves to corrupting occupations. The society woman's spiritual nourishment usually consists

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*In his book on "The Woman Question in the Middle Ages," that I have frequently quoted, Buecher laments the dissolution of marriage and the family. He condemns the employment of women in industry, and demands that woman should return to her "particular sphere," the only one where she creates "real values," the home and the family. The aims of the modern woman movement appear "amateurish" to him, and he expresses the hope that "a better way may be found." But he fails to point out a successful way. From his bourgeois point of view it would be impossible to do so. The matrimonial conditions as also the position of women in general, are not the result of wilful creation. They are the natural product of social evolution, and this social evolution is consummated in accordance with inherent laws.

of the following: Reading ambiguous novels, visiting frivolous plays, enjoying sensuous music, resorting to intoxicating stimulants, and indulging in scandal-mongering. Idleness and ennui frequently entice her into love-intrigues, that are sought more eagerly still by the men of her circles. In the mad pursuit of pleasure she rushes from one banquet and entertainment to another, and in summer she goes to watering-places and summer resorts to rest from the exertions of the winter and to seek new amusement. Scandals are a daily occurrence with this mode of life; men seduce and women allow themselves to be seduced.

Among the lower classes mercenary marriage is practically unknown. The workingman generally marries for love, but nevertheless many harmful and destructive influences exist in the proletarian marriage also. Blessed with many children, cares and worries ensue, and all too often bitter poverty prevails. Disease and death are frequent guests in the proletarian family, and unemployment heightens the misery. Many are the factors that lessen the workingman's income and frequently deprive him of that meagre income altogether. Hard times and industrial crises throw him out of employment; the introduction of new machinery or of new methods of production, makes him superfluous; wars, unfavorable tariff and commercial treaties, the imposition of new indirect taxes, or black-listing by his employers as a result of his political convictions, destroy his means of subsistence or gravely injure them. From time to time one or another thing occurs that entails a longer or shorter period of unemployment with its accompanying misery and starvation. Uncertainty is the mark of his existence. Such vicissitudes are productive of ill temper and bitter feelings that most frequently lead to outbursts in domestic life where demands are made daily and hourly that cannot be satisfied. This leads to quarrels and harsh words and eventually to a rupture in the marriage relation.

Frequently both husband and wife must work for a living. The children are left to themselves or to the care of older brothers and sisters, who are still in need of

care and education themselves. The noon-day meal, usually of the poorest quality, is devoured in utmost haste, provided that the parents have time to come home for this meal. In the majority of cases this is impossible, owing to the distances between homes and factories and to the brevity of the time allowed for rest. Weary and worn, both parents return at night. Instead of a cheerful, pleasant home to come to, theirs is only a small, unsanitary dwelling, frequently wanting in fresh air and light and devoid of the most elementary comforts. The scarcity of available lodgings with all the resulting evils, is one of the darkest phases of our social system that leads to countless vices and crimes. In spite of all attempts at relief, the housing problem is becoming more serious every year in all the larger centers of industry; and other starta of society, such as professional people, clerks, officials, teachers, small dealers, etc., are affected by it. The workingman's wife who returns to her "home" at night exhausted from a day's hard labor, must begin work anew. She must toil in feverish haste to attend to the most necessary details of housekeeping. After the children have been put to bed, she still continues to mend and sew until far into the night. Rest and recuperation are unknown to her. The man often is ignorant and the woman still more so, and the little they have to say to one another is quickly said. The man goes to a saloon where he at least finds some of the comforts that he lacks at home; he drinks, and no matter how little he spends, he is spending too much for his income. Sometimes he falls a victim to the vice of gambling, that claims many victims in the upper strata of society also, and then still loses more than he spends on drink. Meanwhile the woman is brooding at home full of grudge. She must toil like a beast of burden, there is no rest or recreation for her; but the man enjoys the liberty that is his, just because he had the good fortune of having been born a man. Thus discord arises. If the woman is less conscientious; if she, too, seeks pleasure and diversion when she has returned from a hard day of work, to which she is surely entitled, her

household goes to ruin and the misery becomes greater still. Nevertheless, we are living in "the best of worlds."

Thus marriage is constantly being disrupted among the proletariat also. Even favorable periods of employment often have a detrimental influence, for they involve over-time work and sometimes also work on Sunday, thereby depriving the worker of the little time he is able to devote to his family. Often the distances from the workingmen's homes to their places of employment are so great, that they must leave at day-break, when the children are still soundly asleep, and do not return until late at night when they are sleeping again. Thousands of workingmen, especially those connected with the building trades, remain away from home during the entire week and only return to their families on Saturday night. How can family relations prosper under such conditions?! At the same time the number of women workers is constantly growing, especially in the textile industries, for thousands of spinning-machines and power-looms are being tended by women and children, whose labor is cheap. Here matrimonial relations have been reversed. While the wife and the children go to the factory, the unemployed man not infrequently, remains at home performing the domestic duties. "In a number of cloth factories in Chemnitz we find women who are employed there only during the winter months, because their husbands who are road-builders, masons or carpenters, earn little or nothing in winter. During the absence of the women, the men attend to the housekeeping."* In the United States, where capitalism has developed so rapidly, that all its evils are manifest on a much larger scale than in the industrial countries of Europe, a characteristic name has been coined for this state of affairs. Industrial centers where women are mainly employed while men remain at home, have been called "she-towns."**

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*Technics and Political Economy.

**The following clipping taken from an American newspaper in 1893 gives an adequate description of a "she-town": "A singularity that is met with in the factory towns of Maine, is a class of men who may rightly be called housekeepers. Any one visiting some

At present it is generally conceded that women should be admitted to all trades. Capitalistic society in its mad chase of profits has long since recognized, that women can be more profitably exploited than men, since they are by nature more pliant and meek.* Accordingly the number of trades in which women may find employment are increasing with every year. The constant improvement of machinery, the simplifying of the process of labor by an increased division of labor, and the competitive warfare among individual capitalists, as also among rival industrial countries—all favor the steady increase of woman labor. The phenomenon is common to all industrially advanced countries. As the number of women in industry increases, the competition between them and the male workers grows more severe. The reports of factory inspectors and statistical investigations prove this.

The position of women is especially unfavorable in those trades in which they predominate as, for instance, the clothing trades, and particularly in those branches in which the workers perform the work in their own home. Investigations concerning the condition of women workers in the manufacture of underwear and the clothing trades, were made in Germany in 1886. This investigation showed among other things that the miserable pay

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of these workers' homes shortly after the noon hour, will find the men, wearing an apron, washing dishes. At other hours of the day they may be seen making the beds, dressing the children, scrubbing or cooking. . . . These men do the housekeeping for the simple reason that their wives can earn more in the factories than they, and it is more economical for them to remain at home while the women work."

*"Mr. E., a manufacturer, informs me that he employs only women at his power-looms. He prefers married women and especially those who have a family at home depending upon them. They are much more attentive and docile than unmarried women, and are obliged to exert themselves to the utmost in order to earn the necessary means of subsistence. Thus the peculiar virtues of woman's character are turned to her own detriment, and the gentleness and decency of her nature become a means of her enslavement." From an address by Lord Ashley on the ten-hour bill, 1844.—Karl Marx, "Capital," second edition.

these workers received frequently drove them to prostitution.

Our Christian government, whose Christianity is sought in vain where it is really needful, but is met with where it is superfluous—our Christian government is like our Christian bourgeoisie, whose interests it serves. This government finds it exceedingly difficult to decide upon the enactment of laws which would limit the work of women to a bearable degree and prohibit child-labor entirely. This same government also fails to grant a normal work-day and sufficient rest on Sundays to its own employees, thereby harming their family relations. Frequently men employed in the mail and railroad service and in prisons must work many hours overtime without receiving adequate remuneration.

As the rents are also far too high in comparison with the incomes of the workers, they must content themselves with the poorest quarters. Lodgers of one sex or the other, sometimes of both, are taken into the workingman's home.* Old and young of both sexes live together in a small space and frequently witness the most intimate relations. How modesty and decency fare under such conditions, has been shown by horrible facts. The increasing demoralization and brutalization of the young that is being discussed so much, is partly due to these conditions. Child-labor, too, has the worst possible influence on children, both physically and morally.

The increasing industrial activity of married women has the most detrimental effect during pregnancy and at child-birth and during the early babyhood of the children, when they depend upon the mother for nourishment. During pregnancy it may lead to a number of

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*The Prussian census of 1900 has shown that in Prussia there are 3,467,388 persons not related to the families in whose midst they live. In the entire state about one-quarter of these non-related members of the households consisted of strange boarders and lodgers; in the rural districts they constituted only one-seventh, but in the cities one-third, and in the capital, Berlin, more than one-half. —G. v. Mayer, "Statistics and Social Science."

diseases that are destructive to the unborn child and harmful to the organism of the woman, and bring about premature births and still-births. When the child has been born, the mother is compelled to return to the factory as soon as possible, lest some one else take her place. The inevitable result for the poor, little babes is neglect and improper or insufficient nourishment. They are given opiates to be kept quiet; and as a further result of all this, they perish in masses or grow up sickly and deformed. It means race degeneration. Frequently the children grow up without ever having experienced real parental love. Thus proletarians are born, live and die; and society and the state marvel at it that brutality, immorality and crime are increasing.

During the sixties of the last century the cotton industry in England almost came to a standstill, as a result of the Civil War that was being waged in the United States. Accordingly, thousands of working-women were unemployed, and among them physicians made the astounding observation, that in spite of the existing want, infant mortality was decreasing. The reason was that the babies now were being nursed by their mothers and more care was bestowed on them than ever before. During the crisis of the seventies of the last century similar observations were made in the United States, especially in New York and Massachusetts. Unemployment enabled the women to devote more time to their children. The same fact was noted during the general strike in Sweden in August and September of 1909. The mortality in Stockholm and other large Swedish cities had not been as low for many years as during the weeks of this giant strike. One of the eminent medical authorities of Stockholm declared that the low rate of mortality and the general state of good health was in close connection with the great strike. He pointed out that the out-of-door life which was being led by the army of strikers was chiefly responsible for this satisfactory state of health, for no matter how extensive the sanitary regulations might be, the air in the factories and workshops was always more or less detrimental to

the health of the workers. The same medical authority pointed out, furthermore, that the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drinks during the great strike, also tended to improve the state of health.

Domestic industry, which is depicted so alluringly by the romancers among political economists, is not more favorable to the workers. Here man and wife both toil from dawn to darkness and the children are trained as helpers from their earliest childhood on. The entire family and perhaps some assistants live together in closest quarters among rubbish and disagreeable odors. The bedrooms are similar to the workshop, usually small, dark spaces with insufficient ventilation, detrimental to the health of the persons who are obliged to sleep in them.

The struggle for existence that is growing increasingly difficult, also sometimes compels men and women to commit acts that they would loathe under different circumstances. It was shown in 1877 in Munich that among the prostitutes entered on lists by the police, there were no less than 203 wives of workingmen and mechanics. Many more married women are driven to occasional prostitution by need, without submitting to police control that deeply degrades all modesty and human dignity.

CHAPTER X.

Marriage as a Means of Support.

1.—Decline of the Marriage Rate.

When we consider the conditions enumerated above, it requires no further proof to recognize that a growing number of persons do not regard the wedded state as a desirable goal, but hesitate to enter into it. This explains the phenomenon, that in most civilized countries the marriage rate is stationary or declining. It was a matter of old experience, that an increase in the price of grain had

a detrimental effect on both the marriage and birth rates. With the growing industrial development of any country the marriage and birth rates are influenced more and more by the ups and downs of the market. Economic crises and a lowering of the general economic standard have a lasting unfavorable influence. This may be seen from the marriage statistics of various countries. According to the latest census, 12,832,044 marriages were contracted in the United States during the period from 1887 to 1906.

1887 . . .	483,096	1902 . . .	746,733
1891 . . .	562,412	1903 . . .	786,132
1892 . . .	577,870	1904 . . .	781,145
1893 . . .	578,673	1905 . . .	804,787
1894 . . .	566,161	1906 . . .	853,232

These figures show that as a result of the crises during 1893 and 1894, the marriage rate declined by 12,512. The same phenomenon recurs in 1904, during which year the marriage rate declined by 4987. The following table shows marriage statistics gathered in France:

1873—1877. . . .299,000	1893—1897. . . .288,000
1878—1882. . . .281,000	1898—1902. . . .296,000
1883—1887. . . .284,000	1903—1907. . . .306,000
1888—1892. . . .279,000	

The marriage rate attained its highest figure, 321,238, during the year 1873. From that time on the marriage rate declined only to increase again with times of prosperity. In France the highest marriage rate since 1873 was attained in 1907 when it reached 314,903. To some extent this increase was due to a new law that went into effect on June 21, 1907, by which the legal formalities required in order to become married were simplified. This increase was especially noticeable in the poorer districts. The following table shows the number of marriages contracted for every thousand inhabitants in various European countries:

COUNTRIES	1871 to 1875	1876 to 1880	1881 to 1885	1886 to 1890	1891 to 1895	1896 to 1900	1901 to 1905	1907
German Empire	18.84	15.68	15.40	15 68	15.88	17.83	16	16.2
Prussia	18.88	15.86	15.92	16.32	16.40	16.86	16.2	16.4
Bavaria	18.92	14.65	13.64	13.96	14.76	16.09	15.2	15.4
Saxony	19.96	17.70	17.62	18.64	17.52	18.76	16.6	16.8
Austria	18.30	15.52	15.88	15.40	15.76	16.04	15.8	15.8
Hungary.....	21.51	19.30	20.24	17.72	17.92	16.05	17.2	19.6
Italy.....	15.54	15.06	14.08	17.64	14.96	14.40	14.8	15.4
Switzerland	16.06	14.90	13.80	14.00	14.72	15.59	15	15.6
France.....	16.06	15.16	15.04	14.48	14.90	15.14	15.2	16
England and Wales.	17.08	15.34	15.14	14.70	15.16	16.14	15.6	15.8
Scotland.....	14.98	11.76	13.76	18.02	13.68	14.94	14	14
Ireland	9.72	9.04	8.66	8.66	9.48	9.87	10.4	10.2
Belgium	15.44	13.94	13.94	14.34	15.24	16.45	16.2	16.2
Netherlands.....	16.64	15.76	14.28	14.04	14.48	14.88	15	15.2
Denmark	15.88	15.54	15.38	13.94	13.84	14.79	14.4	15.2
Norway.....	14.58	14.40	13.82	12.76	12.92	13.73	12.4	11.8
Sweden	14.04	13.20	12.84	12.20	11.45	12.04	11.8	12
Finland.....	17.68	15.72	14.90	14.40	12.98	15.34	13	13.6
European Russia excl. the Vistula province	19.62	17.62	18.06	17.94	17.08	17.80	—	—
Bulgaria	—	—	18.04	17.24	16.07	—	—	—
Servia	22.80	23.32	22.14	21.76	19.84	—	—	—

That the marriage rate rises and sinks with the rise and decline of national prosperity is most strikingly noticeable in Germany. The largest number of marriages (423,900), were contracted in Germany in 1872, the year after the close of the Franco-Prussian war. From 1873 on, the marriage rate declined until in 1879, the year when the crisis was at its worst, it attained its lowest figure (335,133). Then it gradually increased again until 1890, a year of prosperity, to sink once more in 1892 and again to increase with the years of returning prosperity until with the height of prosperity the highest figures were attained (476,491 in 1900, and 471-519 in 1899). The next crisis brought another decline. In 1902 the number of marriages did not exceed 457,208 while in 1906 and 1907 it rose up again to 498,900 and 503,964.

But in general the statistics of most countries point to a decline of the marriage rate. The highest numbers attained during the seventies were attained only in ex-

ceptional instances at the close of the nineties. But not only the earnings have a strong influence on the marriage rate, the conditions of property have so likewise. Statistics from the kingdom of Wurtemberg show, that with the increase of large estates the number of **married** men between 25 and 30 years of age decreases and the number of **unmarried** men between 40 and 50 years of age increases. Small estates are favorable to the marriage rate, because they enable a greater number of families to maintain a decent though modest livelihood, while large estates are, for obvious reasons, unfavorable to the marriage rate. With the growing industrial development of a country, the number of marriages in urban trades and professions increases. The following statistics from Sweden during the years 1901 to 1904 show the relation of marriage to occupation:

Agriculture	per	1000	4.78
Industry	"	"	7.17
Commerce	"	"	7.75
Learned professions	"	"	6.33

All these figures prove that not moral but economic causes are the determining factors. **The number of marriages like the moral status of a social group depend upon its material foundation.**

2.—Infanticide and Abortion.

Fear of poverty and doubts as to whether it will be possible to bring up the children suitable to their station in life, cause many women of all classes to commit deeds that are averse to the laws of nature and to the laws of organized society as well. Such deeds include the various methods to prevent conception, and when this has occurred nevertheless, artificial abortion. It would be a mistake to assume that such methods are resorted to only by frivolous, unscrupulous women. They are, on the contrary, frequently resorted to by conscientious wives, who feel that they must limit the number of offspring and rather submit to the dangers of abortion, than to deny themselves to their husbands and thereby drive

them to the devious paths. Other women again take this step to conceal a "sin," or because they abhor the discomforts of pregnancy, child-birth and motherhood, or because they fear that their physical beauty will be impaired and that they will accordingly seem less attractive to their husbands and to men in general. These women readily obtain medical and surgical aid at high prices.

Artificial abortion seems to be practiced more and more. It was frequently practiced among the ancients and is practiced to-day among both civilized nations and savages. The old Greeks practiced it openly, without any legal restraint. Plato regarded it as within the province of the midwife, and Aristotle permitted it to married people when a pregnancy that was not desired took place.* According to Jules Ronyer, the women of Rome practiced abortion for several reasons. In the first place they wished to conceal the results of their illigitimate relations; secondly they wished to indulge in uninterrupted excesses, and thirdly they sought to avoid the detrimental effects of pregnancy and child-birth upon their beauty.** Among the romans a woman was considered old when she attained the thirthieth year, and the women therefore shunned everything that was likely to make them age more quickly. During the mediaeval ages abortions were punishable by severe penalties, in some instances even by capital punishment, and a free woman who had practiced it became a serf.

At the present time abortions are practiced chiefly in Turkey and in the United States. "The Turks do not regard a foetus as being really alive until after the fifth month, and have no scruple in causing its abortion. Even at later stages, when the operation becomes criminal, it is frequently practiced. In 1872 at Contanstinople, more than three thousand cases of abortion were brought before the courts in a period of ten months."†

More frequently yet it is practiced in the United States. In all the large cities of the union institutions exist where

*Elie Metchnikoff--The Nature of Man.

**Jules Ronyer, Etudes médicales sur l'ancienne Rome. Paris 1859.

†Elie Metchnikoff—The Nature of Man.

women and girls can go to bring about premature birth. Many American newspapers contain advertisements of such places.* In some strata of American society an artificial abortion is discussed as openly as a regular confinement. In Germany and other European countries it is regarded in a different manner, and according to German law both the perpetrator and the accomplice may be punished by imprisonment. Abortion is often followed by the worst results; not infrequently it results in death, and in many cases it means the permanent destruction of health. "Dangers from the most unfavorable pregnancy and child-birth are less great than from artificial abortions."** Sterility is the most frequent result. Nevertheless the practice is becoming more frequent in Germany also. The following number of persons were convicted of criminal abortion: From 1882 to 1886, 839; from 1897 to 1901- 1565; from 1902 to 1906, 22236.† During recent years several cases of criminal abortions created a sensation, because distinguished physicians and prominent society women figured in these cases. Judging by the advertisements in German newspapers, there also is an increase of those places and institutions where married and unmarried women are given an opportunity to await the results of their wrong-doing in absolute secrecy.

The fear of a too numerous progeny in consideration of the economic status and the cost of education has caused the introduction of preventive measures among entire classes and nations and has gradually developed into a regular system that threatens to become a public calamity. It is a wellknown fact that almost all strata of French society abide by the custom of limiting their offspring to two children. Few civilized countries have as high a marriage rate as France; but notwithstanding this fact, in no other country the birth rate is as low and the increase of population as gradual. The French bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the working class, all abide by

*According to an official investigation, 200 persons were counted in New York who made a profession of artificial abortions.

*Edw. Reich—History of Abortion and its Dangers.

†Criminal statistics of the German Empire for the year 1906.

this custom. In some parts of Germany the conditions among the peasantry seem to have lead to a similar state of affairs. In a picturesque region in the south-western part of Germany, a certain species of tree, which furnishes an ingredient for an abortive remedy, is grown on every farm. In another region the peasants have long since followed the custom of limiting their offspring to two children; they do not wish to divide up their farms. Another noteworthy fact is the marked increase in the publication and sale of literature discussing and recommending means for optional sterility. Of course, these books are always clothed in "scientific" garb and invariably point to the threatening danger of excess of population.

Besides the prevention of conception and artificial abortion, crime also plays a part. In France child exposure and infanticide have increased as a direct result of French civil law, according to which it is interdicted to investigate paternity. The "Code civil" provides that "La recherche de la paternité est enterdite," but "la recherche de la maternité est admise." This law forbids to search for a child's father but permits to search for its mother. With brutal frankness it thus proclaims injustice to the unfortunate girl who has been seduced. The men of France may, by the provision of this law, seduce as many girls and women as they please; they are freed from all responsibility and do not have to contribute anything to the support of their illegitimate children. This law was framed under the pretext that women must be deterred from seducing men. We see, everywhere it is the poor, feeble man,—although his is the strong sex,—who never seduces but always is seduced. The result of this paragraph of the "Code civil" was the framing of another paragraph which provides that "L'enfant concupendant le marriage a pour père le mari" (the husband is father to every child conceived during marriage). While it is forbidden to search after a child's father, deceived husbands must regard children as their own, that have sprung from illicit relations their wives may have maintained. We must admit that the French bourgeoisie is at least consistent. Until now

all attempts to repeal these obnoxious laws have failed. On the other hand the French bourgeoisie seeks to atone somewhat for the cruelty of preventing women, who have been deceived, from seeking financial aid from the fathers of their children, by establishing foundling institutions. Thus the new-born babe is deprived not only of its father but of its mother as well. According to the French conception foundlings are orphans, and the French bourgeoisie thus permits its illegitimate children to be reared as "children of the nation" at the expense of the state. A wonderful institution!

Lately French methods have been copied in Germany. The new German civil law contains provisions in regard to the legal status of illegitimate children, that are in contradiction to the more humane laws that were in force heretofore. One paragraph states that "an illegitimate child and its father are not regarded as being related," while Emperor Joseph II had already decreed that legitimate and illegitimate children should be equal before the law? Another paragraph states that "an illegitimate child is fatherless if its mother maintained relations with several men at the time of conception." The child is made to suffer for its mother's frivolousness, weakness or poverty. Frivolous fathers are not taken into consideration by the law. The law concerning illegitimate children furthermore provides: "it is the mother's right and duty to care for the person of the illegitimate child. The father of the illegitimate child is obliged to provide for same until the completion of its sixteenth year, in accordance with **the social status of the mother.**" According to former Prussian law, the seducer was obliged to provide for the child in accordance with his own social status and wealth. If the woman had been seduced with the promise of marriage, she was entitled to all the rights of a divorced wife, and in those cases the illegitimate children were regarded as legitimate before the law. These more just and humane provisions have now been dispensed with. The tendency of German legislation is a retogressive one.

During the period from 1831 to 1880, 8568 cases of infanticide were tried before the French court of assizes.

This number increased from 471 during the years 1831 eo 1835 to 970 during the years 1876 to 1880. During the same period 1032 cases of criminal abortion were tried, 100 of these during the single year 1880. It goes without saying that only a small number of the artificial abortions actually practiced ever come to the notice of the courts. As a rule only such cases are brought to public attention that result in severe illness or death. The rural population furnished 75 percent of the infanticides, and the urban population furnished 67 percent of criminal obortions. The women residing in cities have more means at hand to prevent normal child-birth; therefore the cases of abortion were numerous and the cases of infanticide relatively few. In the rural districts the inverse ratio prevails. In Germany the following number of persons were convicted of infanticide: from 1882 to 1886, 884; from 1897 to 1901, 887; from 1902 to 1906, 745.

This is the picture presented by present day society in regard to its most intimate relations. It differs considerably from that picture which is usually drawn for us by poetic visionaries, but it at least has the advantage of being true. Yet the picture is incomplete; a few characteristic features must still be added.

3.—Education for Marriage.

All parties are agreed that at the present time the female sex is, on an average, mentally inferior to the male sex. Balzac, who by no means was an admirer of women, nevertheless declared, "a woman who has obtained the education of a man, indeed possesses the most brilliant and fruitful qualities for establishing her own happiness and that of her husband." Goethe, who was well acquainted with the types of men and women of his day, uttered the following sharp remark in "The Years of Travelling of William Meister" (Confessions of a fair soul): "scholarly women were held up to ridicule, and educated women were not popular either, probably because it was regarded as impolite to disgrace so many ignorant men." But that does not alter the fact that women, as a rule, are mentally inferior to men. This

difference is bound to exist, **since the mental status of woman is but what man, her master, has made it.** The education of women has always been pitifully neglected, even more than the education of the proletariat, and even at the present time it is insufficient. In our age the desire for the exchange of ideas is a growing one among all classes of society, and accordingly we begin to recognize the neglected mental training of women as a great mistake, one from which not only women, but men also must suffer.

With men education is mainly directed upon the development of the intellect; it is supposed to sharpen their reasoning powers, to expand their knowledge and to strengthen their will-power. With women, especially among the upper classes, education is mainly directed upon the development of their sentiments; it chiefly consists of attaining various accomplishments that only tend to heighten their imaginative faculty and to increase their nervous irritability, such as music, literature, art and poetry. That is the greatest error in education that could possibly be committed. It shows that educators have allowed themselves to be guided by their prejudices concerning the nature of woman and her narrow sphere in life. The development of sentiment and imagination in women should not be artificially stimulated which only increases the tendency to become nervous. With women, as well as with men, the mental faculties should be developed and they should be acquainted with the practical facts of life. It would be the greatest advantage to both sexes if women were less sentimental and more rational; if they displayed less nervousness and timidity, and more courage and will-power; if they possessed fewer accomplishments, and a broader knowledge of the world and mankind and the natural forces of life. Until the present time the spiritual life of woman and her sentiments have been stimulated to the utmost, while her intellectual development has been neglected, hampered and repressed. As a result she literally suffers from spiritual and sentimental hypertrophy, which makes her susceptible to all sorts of superstitions and miracle-frauds, an easy victim of religious and other swindles, a

willing tool of bigotry and reaction. Men in their short-sightedness frequently lament this fact; but they do nothing to change it, because the great majority of them are still deeply entrenched in their own prejudices. As a result of this false education, women generally regard the world very differently from men, and thereby another great source of differences and misunderstandings between the sexes is established.

For every man in present day society, participation in public life is one of the most essential duties; that many men still fail to recognize this duty does not alter the fact. But an ever widening circle of men has begun to recognize that public institutions **directly affect** the private relations of each individual, and that the welfare of individuals and families depends far more upon the nature of public institutions than upon personal qualities and actions. They have begun to recognize, that even supreme efforts on the part of a single individual are powerless; in combatting evils that are rooted in social conditions, and influence his position accordingly. Moreover the struggle for existence necessitates far greater exertions to-day than formerly. Demands are made upon a man to-day, that require more and more of his time and strength. But the ignorant, indifferent woman is usually incapable of comprehending his duties and interests. We may even say that the differentiation between man and woman is greater to-day than it was formerly, when conditions were more petty and narrow, and therefore more within the range of woman's understanding. Occupation with public affairs to-day claims a greater number of men than formerly. This expands their ideas, but it also estranges them from their domestic circle. Thereby the woman feels neglected, and one more source of differences has been created. Only in rare cases do men succeed in making themselves understood by their wives and in convincing them. As a rule the man holds the opinion that his aims and interests do not concern his wife, and that she is unable to understand them. He does not take the trouble to instruct her. "You don't understand that," is the usual reply when a woman complains to her husband that he is neglecting her. The lack of understand-

ing on the part of the women is still heightened by the lack of common sense on the part of the men. Among the proletariat the relation between husband and wife is more favorable, when both recognize that they must follow the same path, since one, and one only leads to a better future for them and their children: the complete reorganization of society that will make all men and women free. As this recognition spreads among the women of the proletariat, their wedded life becomes **idealized** in spite of misery and want. For now both husband and wife have a common aim to strive for, and their common struggle furnishes an inexhaustible source of inspiration in exchange of opinions. The number of proletarian women who have awakened to this recognition is growing with each year. Here a movement is expanding that will be of vital importance to the future of mankind.

In other marriages the differences of education and conceptions, that were overlooked in the beginning while passion was still strong, become more and more noticeable with the advancing years. But as sexual passion decreases, it ought to be replaced by mental conformity. Quite disregarding the fact whether or not a man recognizes that he has social and civic duties, and whether or not he fulfills these duties, his business or profession alone suffices to keep him in constant touch with the outside world, and to create an intellectual atmosphere about him that broadens his views. Contrary to the woman, he is usually in a state of intellectual moulting; but domestic activities require the woman's time and attention from morning till night, and being deprived of opportunity for mental development, she is apt to become dull and mentally stunted.

This domestic misery in which the majority of wives in present day society are obliged to live, has been truly pictured by Gerhard v. Amyntor in his book on "A Commentary to the Book of Life." In the chapter on "Fatal Stings" he says: "It is not the terrible occurrences that no one is spared, — a husband's death, the moral ruin of a beloved child, long, torturing illness, or the shattering of a fondly nourished hope, — it is none of these that undermine the woman's health and strength, but the little

daily recurring, body and soul devouring cares. How many millions of good housewives have cooked and scrubbed their love of life away! How many have sacrificed their rosy cheeks and their dimples in domestic service, until they became wrinkled, withered, broken mummies. The everlasting question: 'what shall I cook today,' the ever recurring necessity of sweeping and dusting and scrubbing and dish-washing, is the steadily falling drop that slowly but surely wears out her body and mind. The cooking stove is the place where accounts are sadly balanced between income and expense, and where the most oppressing observations are made concerning the increased cost of living and the growing difficulty in making both ends meet. Upon the flaming altar where the pots are boiling, youth and freedom from care, beauty and light-heartedness are being sacrificed. In the old cook whose eyes are dim and whose back is bent with toil, no one would recognize the blushing bride of yore, beautiful, merry and modestly coquettish in the finery of her bridal garb.—To the ancients the hearth was sacred; beside the hearth they erected their lares and household-gods. Let us also hold the hearth sacred, where the conscientious German housewife slowly sacrifices her life, to keep the home comfortable, the table well supplied, and the family healthy." That is the only consolation that bourgeois society is able to offer those women who slowly perish as a result of the present order!

Those women who enjoy a freer position as a result of their more favored social circumstances, usually have a narrow, superficial education that is manifested in connection with inherited, female characteristics. Most of these women are interested only in external appearances; dress and personal adornment are their chief concern, and the satisfaction of their depraved tastes and their unbridled passions, form their object in life. They are not interested much in the children and their education; that would mean too much trouble and annoyance. Therefore they willingly turn over their children to nurses and governesses and later on to boarding-schools. At the most they regard it as their duty to make silly doll-women of their daughters, and superficial, extravagant dandies of

their sons. This class of young men, who regard idleness and extravagance as a profession, furnishes the seducers of the daughters of the people.

The conditions described above have lead to a number of traits of character peculiar to women, that are more fully developed from generation to generation. Men seem to find satisfaction in ridiculing these traits, but they forget that they themselves are to blame for them. The following are some of these frequently condemned female traits of character: talkativeness and scandal-mongering; the inclination to discuss the most insignificant things at the greatest length; the exaggerated interest in outward display; the love of dress and coquetry; envy and jealousy toward the members of her sex, and the tendency of being dishonest and hypocritical. These traits of character usually manifest themselves with the female sex at an early age; they are general and only differ in degree. These traits have developed under the pressure of social conditions, and they have been further developed by heredity, example and education. One who has been brought up unwisely is not likely to bring up others wisely.

In order to understand the origin and development of traits of character common to an entire sex or to an entire people, we must follow the same method that modern scientists apply to understand the origin and development of living beings and their characteristics. The material conditions of life to a great extent imprint upon every living being its traits of character. It is compelled to adapt itself to these existing material conditions, until the adaptation becomes its nature.

Human beings form no exception to that which holds true for all living beings throughout nature. Man is not exempt from natural laws. Viewed physiologically, he is merely the most highly developed animal. Of course, many persons refuse to admit this. Thousands of years ago ancient peoples, although they knew nothing of modern science, held more rational views in regard to many human problems, than a great many of our contemporaries, and, what is more noteworthy still, their views that were based on experience, were put into prac-

tice. We praise and admire the strength and beauty of the men and women of ancient Greece; but we forget that it was not the climate of this beautiful country that had such a favorable influence upon the nature and development of its population, but the educational maxims that were consistently carried out by the state, and that were destined to combine beauty, strength and skill with mental sharpness and vigor. Indeed the mental development of woman was neglected even then, but not so her physical development.* In Sparta where physical culture of both sexes was most extensively practiced, boys and girls went about naked until the age of puberty, and together they joined in physical exercises, games and wrestling-matches. The display of the nude human body, the natural treatment of natural things, prevented the extreme sexual irritation that is mainly caused by an artificial separation of the sexes from childhood on. The body of one sex was no mystery to the other. No dallying with ambiguities could arise. Nature was regarded as such. Each sex took pleasure in the beauty of the other.

To a natural, untrammeled relation of the sexes must mankind return; we must cast aside the unsound spiritualistic conceptions concerning human affairs and create methods of education that shall bring about a physical and mental regeneration. The prevailing conceptions in regard to education, especially the education of women, are still exceedingly reactionary. That a woman should possess such qualities of character as strength, courage and determination, is decried as unwomanly, and yet no one can deny that by means of such qualities she will be better enabled to protect herself. But her physical development is hampered, just like her mental development. This is due in no small degree to the irrational mode of dress. Woman's dress not only interferes with her physical development, it frequently does her direct bodily harm; and yet there are few, even

*Plato, in "The State", demands that women should be given an education similar to men, and Aristoteles in "Politics" declares as a fundamental principle of education: "first let the body be developed and then the mind.

among physicians, who dare to oppose it. Fear of displeasing the patient causes them to be silent or even to flatter her follies. The modern style of dress prevents women from freely exercising their strength, hampers their physical development, and creates a feeling of helplessness in them. Moreover, woman's dress endangers the health of her environment, for at home and on the street she is a walking generator of dust.

The physical and intellectual development of women is furthermore severely hampered by a rigorous separation of the sexes in school and in social intercourse, that is quite in accordance with the spiritualistic conceptions implanted by Christianity, and is still sadly prevalent among us. The woman who is given no opportunity to develop her abilities and talents, who is maintained within a narrow sphere of ideas, and rarely permitted to associate with members of the other sex, cannot rise above the commonplace and trivial. For her ideas are centered in the occurrences of her immediate environment. Verbose conversations over a mere nothingness and the tendency to gossip are fostered by this narrow life, since the mental activities that reside in every human being must find expression somewhere. Men are frequently grievously annoyed and driven to despair by these qualities which they roundly condemn, without pausing to consider that they, "the lords of creation," are chiefly to blame for them. During recent years numerous attempts have been made to introduce more rational conceptions of life; but they are merely a beginning, and until now have been confined to a very small portion of society.

4.—The Misery of Present Day Marriages.

As a result of our social and sexual relations, woman is directed toward marriage by every fibre of her existence, and naturally marriage constitutes a chief topic of her conversation and thought. As woman is physically weaker than man, and is subjected to him by custom and law, her tongue is her chief weapon to be used against him, and she naturally makes a liberal use of this weapon. In the same way her much berated love of dress and per-

sonal adornment can be explained, that leads to increasingly eccentric follies of fashion and often causes financial troubles and unpleasantness to fathers and husbands. To man, woman has chiefly been an object of enjoyment. Being socially and economically dependent, she must regard marriage as a means of support, and thus becomes subservient to man, becomes his property. Her position is rendered more unfavorable still by the fact that the number of women usually exceeds the number of men; we will return to this phase of the question later on.—This disproportion increases the competition of women among themselves, all the more so because, for numerous reasons, many men fail to marry. Woman is therefore compelled to enhance her personal charms, in order to compete with the members of her own sex in the struggle for the possession of a man. When we consider that this disproportion has existed through many generations, it is not to be wondered at that these charactecistics have gradually assumed their present, extreme form. We must consider moreover that at no time the competition among women for the possession of man was as severe as it is at present, owing to causes, some of which have already been, and others that still are to be enumerated. The increasing difficulty of obtaining a decent livelihood also directs woman more than ever to marriage as a means of support.

Men do not object to these conditions, since they are favorable to them. It flatters their vanity and serves their interest to play the part of the ruler, and as all rulers they are not easily accessible to reason. It is all the more important therefore that women themselves should strive to bring about conditions that will liberate them from their present, degraded position. Women can no more rely upon the aid of men, than the workers can rely upon the aid of the bourgeoisie.

When we furthermore consider what traits of character are developed by competition along other lines, how, for instance, industrial competition leads to hatred, envy and calumny, and how the competitors resort to the basest means, we find an explanation for the fact that similar traits of character have been developed in women by their

competition for the possession of a man. It is due to this permanent competition that women, as a rule, cannot get along as well with one another as men can; that even intimate friends are easily led to quarrel when the favor of a man enters into consideration. This competition also explains what may be frequently observed, that when two women meet, even though they are utter strangers to one another, they regard each other in a hostile way. With a single glance they have summed up each other's shortcomings in the manner and style of their clothes, and in the looks of each the verdict may be read: "I am better dressed than you are and am better able to attract attention to myself."

On the other hand woman is by nature more impulsive than man. She is less given to reflection, is more unselfish and naive, and is more controlled by passion. These traits of character are expressed in their most beautiful form by the unselfish self-sacrifice with which she serves her children and others who are near and dear to her and cares for them during illness. But when angered, her impassionate nature manifests itself in its ugliest form. Yet the fact remains that both good and evil qualities are fostered, hampered or transformed, by the social position. The same propensity that may be harmful under unfavorable circumstances may, under favorable circumstances, become a source of happiness to oneself and others. Fourier has ably shown that the same human propensities may, under different circumstances, lead to opposite results.*

Beside the improper mental education, the improper or insufficient physical education in regard to the purposes of nature, remains to be considered. All physicians are agreed that woman's education for her profession of motherhood is almost entirely neglected. "Soldiers are trained in the use of their weapons, and mechanics in the use of their tools. Every profession requires preliminary study. Even the monk has his noviceship. Only the

*A. Bebel—"Charles Fourier, His Life and His Theories." Stuttgart, 1907. J. H. W. Dietz.

woman is not educated for her serious maternal duties".* Nine tenths of all maidens who are given an opportunity to marry, enter matrimony in complete ignorance of motherhood and its duties. The unpardonable prudery that prevents mothers from speaking to their grown daughters about the important functions of sex, leaves them in a state of densest ignorance concerning their duties to their husbands and to themselves. The entrance into marriage means to most women entrance into an utterly strange world. Their conceptions of marriage are purely imaginative, drawn from novels of doubtful value, and are usually very foreign to reality.** Another source of differences may be found in the lack of practical knowledge of housekeeping that is still quite essential in present day marriage, though women have been relieved of many domestic activities that were formerly inevitable. Some women are deplorably ignorant of household duties because they consider themselves superior to such work and regard it as a task for servants only. Others, daughters of the proletariat, are equaly ignorant, because the struggle for existence compelled them to toil in the factory from morning until night, and they found no time to prepare for their future profession of housekeeper. It becomes more and more evident that the trend of development makes individual housekeeping unpractical, and that it can be maintained only by an irrational sacrifice of time and money.

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*Irma v. Troll-Borostyani—"The Mission of our Century. A Study of the Woman Question."

**In "Les Femmes qui tuent et les femmes qui votent," Alexander Dumas, jr., relates that an eminent Catholic clergyman had told him that among hundred of his former female pupils who had become married,, at least eighty came to him after a few months had elapsed and told him that marriage was a disappointment to them and that they regretted having married. That seems very plausible indeed. The French bourgeoisie find it compatible with their conscience to have their daughters reared in convents. They are influenced by the assumption that an ignorant woman is more easily guided than an enlightened one. Conflicts and disappointments in marriage are the inevitable result. Laboulaye even frankly advises to maintain the women in moderate ignorance, for "notre empire est detruit si l'homme est reconnu." (Our rule will be destroyed if man is recognized.)

There is still another cause that to many men destroys the purpose of marriage: the physical enfeeblement of women. The food we eat, the manner in which we live, the conditions of our work and the character of our amusements, all tend to act more destructively than favorably upon our physical condition. Rightly is our age termed a nervous age. But nervousness leads to physical degeneration. Anaemia and nervousness exist in an especially marked degree among women. This physical degeneration is fast becoming a social calamity, and if it would continue to exist for several generations more, without our being able to procure more normal conditions of development, it would ultimately lead to race destruction.*

The female organism requires special care in consideration of its special sexual functions. It requires good and sufficient nourishment and at certain periods it requires rest. For the great majority of women such care does not exist, nor can it be obtained under present-day conditions. Women have so accustomed themselves to self-denial that many women consider it a matrimonial duty to give their husbands the best morsels and to content themselves with insufficient food. It also frequently happens that the boys of a family are better nourished than the girls. It is generally assumed that women can content themselves with poorer and less nourishment than men. Young girls are therefore often a sad sight to professional authorities on hygiene and physical culture.** A great number of our young women are weak, anaemic, and extremely nervous. The results are suffering during menstruation and diseases of the sexual organs that sometimes make it dangerous or impossible to give birth to children or to nurse them. "If the degeneration of our

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*Softening of the brain has increased more rapidly among women than among men. Among every hundred patients admitted to asylums in Prussia there were cases of softening of the brain:

1876—1879....	17.0	3.7	1895—1897....	18.5	7.6
1880—1891....	17.3	5.4	1898—1901....	16.2	7.5
1892—1894....	17.7	6.8			

**Further details on this subject may be found in "The Book of Women," by Mrs. H. S. Adams, M. D., Stuttgart.

women continues to go on in the same manner as up to the present, it will become doubtful whether civilized man may still be classified with the mammals."* Instead of being married to a healthy, cheerful companion, a capable mother, a wife attending to her domestic duties, the man is burdened with a sickly, nervous woman who cannot endure the slightest draught or the least noise and requires the constant attendance of a physician. We need not dwell longer on this subject. Everyone knows of a number of such cases among his own friends and relatives.

Experienced physicians assert that the majority of married women, especially in the cities, are in a more or less abnormal, physical condition. According to the degree of the ailment and the characters of husband and wife, such marriages must be more or less unfortunate. In accordance with public opinion they entitle the men to take liberties outside of their matrimonial relations, and the knowledge of this fact must heighten the misery of the wives. Sometimes the sexual requirements of husband and wife also differ widely and give rise to profound disharmonies, yet the much desired separation is not possible.

In connection with this, the truth must not be concealed that in a great many cases **the men are responsible for the severe physical sufferings that befall their wives in marriage** , . As a result **of their profligate lives, many men suffer from chronic sexual diseases that they frequently treat lightly,** because they do not cause them much trouble. But during sexual intercourse with their wives, these fall victims to severe abdominal diseases that set in shortly after marriage and frequently result in sterility. Usually the unfortunate woman is ignorant of the true cause of the disease that mars her life and destroys the purpose of marriage, and reproaches herself or is reproached for the condition that her husband has caused. Many a blooming young woman becomes a chronic invalid after she has barely entered marriage, — neither she nor her relatives are

*Dr. F. B. Simon, "The Care of the Health of Women."

able to explain her condition, and the physican must maintain silence. Recent investigations have shown that childless marriages are frequently due to sexual diseases of men; while formerly the lords of creation maintained the convenient theory that the woman was always to blame when their marriages remained childless.*

Numerous are the causes that prevent present day marriage from being what it ought to be. It is therefore a recommendation of doubtful value when even learned men seek to oppose the woman movement by pointing out to woman that marriage is their true vocation. As a result of our social conditions marriage has become a carricature foreign to its true purposes.

CHAPTER XI.

The Chances of Matrimony.

1.—The Numerical Proportion of the Sexes.

The usual advice to women to seek their salvation in marriage, this being their true profession, is thoughtlessly approved of by the vast majority of men. But it seems like mockery, that many of those who give such advice and of those who applaud it, refrain from marrying themselves. Schopenhauer, the philosopher, has only the conception of a philistine concerning woman and her position. He says: "woman is not called upon to perform great tasks. Her characteristic is not doing but suffering. She pays her debt to life by the throes of child-birth, care of her child and **submissiveness to her husband.** The supreme expressions of vitality and perception are denied her. Her life should be more tranquil and insignificant than man's life. Woman is called upon to be the nurse and educator of childhood **because she is childish herself;** because **throughout life she re-**

*Dr. F. B. Simon discusses this subject and the analogous subject, why so many young women become ill after marriage without being able to account for it, at length. His book is a glaring reflection upon the wrongdoings and vices of men.

mains a big child, a sort of intermediary stage between child and man, **the true human being. . . .** Girls should be reared to be domestic and **submissive. . . . Women are the most thoroughgoing, incurable philistines."**

The work by Lombroso and Ferrero, "Woman as a Criminal and Prostitute", is also written in the spirit of Schopenhauer. We have never met with an equally extensive scientific book, — it consists of 590 pages, — that contains so little convincing material in regard to the subject it deals with. The statistics from which the most daring conclusions are drawn, are very inadequate. Sometimes a dozen cases have sufficed the author to form a weighty opinion. It is a noteworthy fact that the material contained in the book which may be regarded as the most trustworthy has been furnished by a woman, Dr. Mrs. Tarnowskaya. The influences of social conditions and social development are almost entirely disregarded. All phenomena are judged from a narrow physiological and psychological point of view and much ethnological information concerning various peoples— is interwoven with the argumentation, without any attempt being made to investigate the nature of this information. According to the authors, as according to Schopenhauer, woman is a big child, an incarnate liar, weak in her judgment, fickle in love, incapable of any heroic deed. The inferiority of woman,—so they claim,— has been proven by a great many physical differences and charecteristics. "Woman's love is, at the bottom, nothing but a secondary character of motherhood. All the sentiments of affection that bind a woman to a man are not derived from the sexual impulse but **from instincts of devotion and submission acquired by adaptation."** But how these instincts were acquired the authors fail to examine. If they did, it would imply an investigation of the social position of woman during thousands of years which has made her what she is to-day. The authors describe the dependence and enslavement of woman among different nations and during various periods of civilization, but being blinded by a narrow conception of the Darwinian theory, they trace everything to physiological causes, and disregard the social and economic

causes that have had the strongest influence on woman's physiological and psychological development.

Among other things the authors discuss the vanity of woman and express the view that among people at a low stage of development men are the vain sex, which may be observed even to-day on the Hebrides, Madagascar and among the tribes about the Orinoco river, as also on many islands of the Polynesian Archipelago and among a number of African and South Sea Island tribes; while among nations of high stage of development, women are the vain sex. But why is this so? The answer is simple. Among peoples at a low stage of development, matriarchal conditions prevail or have been abandoned but recently. Here woman's position is such that she is relieved of the necessity of wooing man. The man woos her, and for this purpose he adorns himself, he becomes vain. Among peoples at a higher stage of development, especially among all civilized nations, man does not woo woman, but woman woos man. It rarely occurs that woman takes the initiative and literally offers herself to a man; modesty forbids that. But the offer nevertheless is made by manner and dress, the luxury of her personal adornment and her coquetry. Such conduct is forced upon her by the fact that there are more women that men and by the social necessity of regarding marriage as a means of support and as the only institution by means of which she may satisfy her sexual impulse and obtain social recognition. Here again we find **purely economic and social causes** bringing forth qualities, now in the man and now in the woman, that we are accustomed to regard as quite independent of social and economic causes. From this we may draw the conclusion that when society has reached a state of development in which every form of dependence of one sex upon the other will cease, **vanity and the follies of fashion will disappear as will many other vices that we deem ineradicable to-day, because we believe them to be inherent in human nature.**

In regard to Schopenhauer it must be said that he, as a philosopher, is as biased in his judgment of women as the majority of our anthropologists and medical men who

regard her only as a sex being, never as a social being. Schopenhauer had never been married. He failed to contribute his share that one more woman might fulfill the purpose in life that he prescribed to women. This leads us to another, no more pleasant phase of the question.

It is generally known that many women remain unmarried because they are given no opportunity to become married. Custom forbids the woman to offer herself. She must allow herself to be chosen; she may not choose. If she is not chosen she must join that great army of unfortunate women who have missed their purpose in life and who are frequently subjected to a life of poverty and want, sometimes made more bitter still by ridicule. But what causes the numerical disproportion of the sexes? Many are quick to reply: too many girls are born. The persons who make this statement are misinformed, as we shall see. Others draw the conclusion that if women are in the majority in most civilized countries, polygamy ought to be permitted. But polygamy is not only averse to our customs, it also entails the degradation of woman; although that did not prevent Schopenhauer from asserting that "to the female sex in general polygamy is a boon." Many men do not marry because they believe that they are unable to support one woman and the children who are likely to be born according to their station in life. Only few men are able to support two women, and among these, many do have two or several wives: one legitimate wife, and one or several illegitimate wives. Those privileged by wealth allow nothing to prevent them from doing as they choose.

Even in the orient where custom and law have suffered polygamy to exist for thousands of years, relatively few men have more than one wife. We speak of the degrading influence of life in Turkish harems. But we overlook the fact that only very few men belonging to the ruling class can afford to maintain a harem, while the great mass of men live in monogamic marriage. In the city of Algiers at the close of the sixties of the last century, there were among 18,282 marriages no less than 17,319 with only one wife; there were 888 marriages with two wives, and only

75 with more than two. In Constantinople, the capital of the Turkish empire, conditions are probably quite similar. Among the rural population in the orient the conditions favoring monogamic marriage are still more striking. In the orient, as with us, material conditions come into consideration that compel the majority of men to content themselves with one wife.* But if conditions were equally favorable to all men polygamy could still not be generally maintained because there are not enough women. **Under normal conditions the numbers of persons of both sexes are almost equal, which everywhere points to monogamic marriage.** The following table which has been published by Buecher in the "General Statistic Records," proves this assertion.**

	Number of male persons	Number of female persons	Entire population	Number of women for every 1000 men
Europe.....	170,818,561	174 914,119	345,732,680	1,024
America.....	41,643,389	40,540,386	82,183,775	973
Asia.....	177,648,044	170,269,179	347,917,223	958
Australia	2,197,799	1,871,821	4,069,620	852
Africa.....	6,994,064	6,771,360	13,765,425	968
	399,301,857	394,366,865	793,668,722	988

The result of this compilation may, to many people, be a surprising one. With the exception of Europe where there are, on an average, 1,024 female inhabitants for every 1000 male inhabitants, the male population predominates. Even if we may assume that the information is incomplete, especially in regard to the female sex, and that especially in countries with a Mohammedan population the female population surpasses the given figures,

*Throughout India polygamy exists in only a moderate form. According to the census of 1901 which includes all religions, there were for every 1000 married men, 1,011 married women. According to this the monogamic equilibrium is not seriously interfered with.—D. v. Mayer.

**Karl Buecher, on the distribution of both sexes upon the earth; lecture delivered on Jan. 6, 1892, before the Geographical and Statistical Society of Frankfort on the Main. General Statistic Records published by Dr. George v. Mayer. Vol. II. Tubingen, 1892.

the fact remains that, except in a few European countries, the female population nowhere considerably exceeds the male population. In the meantime the imperial bureau of statistics in Berlin has published a new compilation of the census in European and non-European countries which includes 883,000,000 people. "When we take into consideration the census, not included in this compilation, of Italy, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Costa Rica, Argentine Republic, the Transvaal, Orange River Colony, Cyprus, Formosa and Pescadores, the number of enumerated inhabitants of the earth attains 882,000,000 with a general average of 991 female persons for every 1000 male persons. For the enumerated population of the earth we may therefore assume an almost equal representation of both sexes with a slight preponderance of the male.*

In Europe the conditions are different. With the exception of the countries of South Eastern Europe, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Servia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece, the female population predominates. The proportion is least unfavorable in Hungary and Italy where there are respectively 1,009 and 1,010 female inhabitants for every 1000 male inhabitants. Belgium comes next with 1013 female for every 1000 male inhabitants. Portugal and Norway show the most unfavorable proportion; next to these Great Britain with 1063 female for every 1000 male inhabitants. France, Germany, Austria and Russia lie in the middle having for every 1000 male inhabitants respectively 1,033, 1,032, 1,035 and 1,029 female inhabitants.** In Germany during the last two decades each census has shown a more favorable proportion. On Dec. 1, 1885, the female population exceeded the male population by 988,376 persons. The census of Dec. 1, 1890, still showed an excess of the female population of 966,806 persons. 1895—957,401; 1900—892,684, and according to the census of Dec. 1, 1905 the excess of the female population had sunken to 871,916 persons (1029 female for every 1000

*G. v. Mayer--Dr. G. Schnapper Arndt in his book of Social Statistics arrives at the same conclusion. "Taken all in all the proportion of both sexes is approximately equal"

**According to G. Schnapper Arndt; founded on recent census figures, around the close of the century.

male inhabitants). The decline of this difference may be chiefly accounted for by the decline of emigration in which the male sex is mainly concerned. This may be clearly seen from the proportion of the sexes in the United States, into which the stream of emigration is mainly directed, and where the dearth of women is almost as great as the excess of women in Germany. In 1900 for every 1000 men there were only 953 women. This emigration from Germany decreased from 220,902 persons in 1881 to 22,073 persons in 1901 and to 19,883 persons in 1908. The fact, that more men than women emigrate, accounts in the first place then for the difference between the numbers of persons of both sexes. Italy furnishes a good example; for there the male population still predominated at the beginning of the forties of the last century, while at present the female population predominates, owing to the large en igration.

Furthermore, more men than women meet with accidents in agriculture, industry, commerce and traffic. Also more men are temporarily absent abroad as merchants, sailors, marines, etc. Another fact that has been statistically proven and that constitutes an important factor is that women on an average attain a higher age than men and that therefore there are more old women than old men. According to the census of 1900 the proportion of the sexes according to age in Germany was the following:

AGE	Male	Female	More male	More female	Excees of female population
Under 10 years...	6,904,732	6,871,599	33,133	—	—
From 10 to 15 years	2,925,918	2,912,573	13,345	—	—
" 15 " 21 "	3,179,813	3,162,448	17,365	—	—
" 21 " 30 "	4,251,204	4,293,775	—	42,571	—
" 30 " 40 "	3,669,656	3,731,556	—	61,900	—
" 40 " 50 "	2,770,451	2,923,228	—	152,777	—
" 50 " 60 "	2,053,085	2,320,273	—	267,188	—
" 60 " 70 "	1,300,637	1,545,808	—	245,171	—
" 70 years up.	681,751	868,671	—	186,920	—
	27,737,247	28,629,931	63,845	956,527	892,684

This table shows that up to the twenty-first year the number of boys exceeds the number of girls.* This excess of boys is due to the fact that everywhere more boys than girls are born. The following number of boys and girls, for instance, were born in the German empire:

During	the	year	1872	for	100	girls	106.2	boys
"	"	"	1884	"	100	"	106.2	"
"	"	"	1900	"	100	"	106.0	"
"	"	"	1905	"	100	"	106.3	"
"	"	"	1907	"	100	"	106.3	"

But the male sex dies younger than the female sex; especially during infancy more boys than girls die. Our table shows that from the twenty-first year on the female population exceeds the male. The following figures show the death-rate of male and female inhabitants in Germany:

During the years	Male	Female	During the years	Male	Female
1872—1875	29.5	26.3	1891—1895	24.6	22.1
1876—1880	27.8	24:5	1896—1900	22.6	20.0
1881—1885	27.3	24.2	1901—1905	21.0	18.8
1886—1890	25.8	23.1			**

The table on page 159 furthermore shows that at the true marriageable age, between the twenty-first and fiftieth year the female sex exceeds the male sex by 257,248 persons (in the year 1890 by 422,519) and between the fiftieth and seventieth year by 699,279 (in the year 1890 by 566,400). In Germany as in England the number of old women increases each year. A great disproportion, that constantly increases, is furthermore met with among widowed and divorced persons.

According to the census of 1890 and 1900 there were the following numbers of widowed persons in Germany:

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*According to the census of 1890, there was an excess of boys only up to the tenth year of age, and according to the census of 1895, up to the sixteenth year.

**Hygienic and ethnological conditions of the German Empire. Berlin, 1907—During the year 1907 for every 100 female deceased there were 109.3 male.

	1890	1900
Men	774,967	809,238
Women	2,157,870	2,352,921
More women than men	1,382,903	1,543,683

These widowed persons were of the following ages:

	1890		1900	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
40 to 60 years	222,286	842,920	225,191	900,357
60 years and older	506,319	1,158,712	537,116	1,299,905

The number of divorced persons were during 1890, 25,271 men and 49,601 women. During 1900, 31,279 men and 60,738 women. These were of the following ages:

	1890		1900	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
40 to 60 years	13,825	24,842	16,976	30,385
60 years and older	4,917	7,244	5,713	8,452

These figures show us that widowed and divorced women are excluded from remarriage, even during the age best suited to marriage. For during the years 1890 and 1900 there were respectively 46,362 and 46,931 widowed men up to the fortieth year of age, while during the same years there were respectively 156,235 and 152,689 widowed women. There were divorced men in 1890 and 1900 respectively 6519 and 8590 and divorced women 17,515 and 21,901. Here the disadvantage of divorce to the women is proved by figures.

The following shows the proportion of unmarried persons during 1900:

	Men	Women
15 to 40 years	6,700,352	5,824,464
40 to 60 years	426,388	503,406
60 years and older	141,416	252,134*

Among the unmarried persons between the fifteenth and fortieth year there are, as above table shows, 875,888 more men than women, which appears to be very favorable to women. But men between the fifteenth and twen-

*Statistics of the German Empire. Census of Dec. 1, 1900.

ty-first year of age,—at which age there are 3,175,453 men to 3,064,567 women,—are, with very few exceptions, unable to marry. The same may be said of men between the twenty-first and twenty-fifth year of age, the great majority of whom are unable to support a family, while women of this age are all marriageable. When we furthermore consider the fact that for diverse reasons a great many men do not marry at all,—the number of unmarried men over 40 years were 567,804,—we find that the position of women in regard to marriage is a highly unfavorable one. A great many women then, under present-day conditions, are compelled to deny themselves the legitimate satisfaction of the sexual impulse, while men seek and find satisfaction in prostitution. The position of women would become a far more favorable one, as soon as a transformation of social conditions would abolish the obstacles that at present prevent hundreds of thousands of men from becoming married.

As already mentioned the disproportion in the numbers of the sexes is due to a great extent to emigration. Obligatory service in the army also drives many young men, frequently the strongest, to seek their fortune abroad. According to official reports of the army, 135,168 men were convicted of illicit emigration, and 13,055 more cases were being investigated. These figures include men up to the forty-fifth year. This illicit emigration of men from Germany causes a considerable loss. Emigration is especially large in the years following great wars; that was seen after 1866 and during the years 1871 to 1874.

We furthermore have great losses of life among men by accidents. In Prussia during the period from 1883 to 1905 no less than 297,983 persons were killed by accidents; of these there were, during the one year 1905, 11,792 men and 2,922 women. From 1886 to 1907, 150,719 persons were killed by accidents in industry, agriculture and state or municipal employment; only a small fraction of these were women. Another considerable portion of persons employed in these occupations become maimed or crippled for life and therefore unable to maintain a family. (There were 40,744 of these from 1886 to 1907.) Others die young leaving their families in the neediest

circumstances. Much loss of life among men is also connected with navigation. From 1882 to 1907, 2,848 seagoing vessels were sunk, entailing a loss of life of 4,913 members of the crew,—almost all men,—and 1,275 passengers.

Only when the highest valuation of human life has been established,—which will be the case in a Socialistic community,—will society be enabled to prevent a great majority of accidents on land and sea. At present many persons are killed or maimed as a result of illapplied economy of employers. In many other cases accidents are due to excessive speed or over-fatigue of workers. Human life is cheap. When one workingman has been killed there are many others to take his place.

Especially in navigation many preventable accidents occur. By the revelations of Plimsoll in the English parliament during the seventies, the fact became generally known that many owners of unseaworthy vessels, impelled by criminal greed, insured these vessels at a high rate and then sent them with their crew to almost certain destruction, in order to obtain the amount of insurance. These are the so-called death-ships that are not unknown in Germany either. Every year the marine bureaus are called upon to pronounce their verdicts in connection with a number of marine accidents, and those verdicts usually show the accidents to be due to advanced age or overloading or improper condition of the vessel or insufficient equipment, or a number of these causes combined. In the cases of many sunken ships the causes of their sinking can never be determined, because the disasters occur in mid-ocean and no one survives to tell the tale. Many crimes are committed in this way. The stations for saving ship-wrecked persons established at the coasts, are also very insufficient because they are chiefly maintained by private charity. An organized society that will regard it as its highest duty to provide equally for all its members, will succeed in making all these accidents of extremely rare occurrence. But under the present predatory system, where human lives are

regarded as mere ciphers and the sole aim is to attain the highest possible profit, a human life is sometimes sacrificed in order that a dollar may be gained.

2.—Obstacles to Marriage. The Excess of Women.

There are still other causes that make marriage difficult or prevent it entirely. A considerable number of men are prevented from marrying by the state. People condemn the enforced celibacy of the Catholic clergy, but they do not mention the fact that a far greater number of soldiers are doomed to celibacy likewise. When an officer of the army wishes to marry, he not only requires the consent of his superiors, he is also denied the free choice of a wife, since it is prescribed that he must possess a certain amount of wealth. In Austria a captain of the army seeking to marry, must give a security of 30,000 florins if he is under thirty years of age, 20,000 florins if he is over thirty; minor officers must give a security of 16,000 florins. In all cases the fiancée of an army officer must have lead an immaculate life, and her standard of living must be suited to his rank. In Germany, officers of the army may seek permission to marry only when they can prove that they have an additional income. The required size of this additional income varies with the different ranks. These are striking proofs of the materialistic conception of marriage maintained by the state.

Public opinion in general maintains, that men should not marry until they have attained their twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year of life. This opinion is founded on the fact that few men are able to support a family before they have reached this age. Only persons who are fortunate enough not to be obliged to win an independent position, —persons of princely rank, for instance,—form an exception. In their case we regard it as quite proper that a man should become married at eighteen or nineteen, and a maiden at fifteen or sixteen years of age. Princes come of age when they are eighteen years old, and are considered competent to rule the most numerous people. Common mortals do not come of age until they are twenty-one years old.

This difference of opinion in regard to the age at which marriage is desirable, shows that only social considerations are taken into account, that have no bearing upon man as a sex being. But nature will not be fettered by definite social conditions and the views that have sprung from these conditions. As soon as a human being has attained maturity, the sexual impulse manifests itself with all its vigor.

The advent of puberty with the female sex differs according to the individual, the climate and the mode of life. In the torrid zones it sets in as early as the ninth or tenth year, and sometimes one meets women of that age with their first babes in their arms; but they are faded when they have attained their twenty-fifth or thirtieth year.* In the temperate zones girls usually attain puberty at fourteen or sixteen years of age, in some cases later still. The age of puberty also differs with girls living in the country from those living in cities. Among the healthy, robust country girls who work hard, as a rule menstruation sets in later than among our poorly nourished, effeminate, ethereal young ladies in the cities, who suffer from over-excitement of the nerves. In the country puberty usually developes in the normal way. In the city its normal development is an exception, and not infrequently it is accompanied by various symptoms of disease that drive physicians to despair. Often physicians are obliged to say that the only certain cure would be marriage. But in many cases this cure cannot be applied, owing to the unsurmountable obstacles.

All these factors show where we must seek a change. To begin with, we need a complete revolntion in our educational methods. We need a system of education that takes both the physical and intellectual qualities into consideration. Furthermore, we need an entirely different mode of living and working. But both cannot be brought about except by a **complete transformation of social conditions.**

Our social conditions have created a profound contradiction between man as a sex being and man as a social

*Ely Metschnikoff—The Nature of Man.

being. This contradiction has never been so noticeable as in the present age, and it leads to many evils and diseases to which women especially are subjected. In the first place the woman's organism is far more influenced by her sex mission than man's organism (for instance, the regular recurrence of menstruation); in the second place she is confronted by the greatest number of obstacles that prevent her from satisfying her strongest natural impulse in a natural way. This contradiction between natural impulse and social constraint leads to anomalies, to secret vices and excesses that are bound to undermine even strong constitutions. Unnatural satisfaction is frequently aided in a most shameless manner. In the advertisements of newspapers and periodicals, certain manufactures are recommended in a more or less veiled manner. These advertisements appeal to the wealthy classes of society, because the price of the manufactures are so high that a person of moderate means could not buy them. Besides we find advertisements of obscene pictures, entire series of photographs, and poetry and prose of a similar character, whose very titles are intended to produce sensual excitement. These matters ought to claim the attention of the police and public prosecutors. But these gentlemen are too busy persecuting Socialism, "that will destroy the home and the family," to give their full attention to such doings. A part of our novels influence the sentiments of the reading public in the same direction. It is really not to be wondered at if sexual debauchery, artificially stimulated, gradually becomes a social disease.

Many women of the wealthy classes lead an idle, self-indulgent life. They stimulate their nerves by the most extraordinary means, and indulge in a certain enjoyment of art that creates an exaggerated sentimentality and heightens their nervous irritability. All this increases the sensual passions and naturally leads to excesses. Among poor people sexual irritability is frequently heightened by certain kinds of hard work, especially such work that compels people to lead a sedentary life which creates congestion of the blood in the abdominal organs. One of the most dangerous occupations in this respect is constant work at the sewing machine, an occupation in which a

great many women are employed at present. This work is so detrimental to the health of women that ten to twelve hours of it daily will shatter the strongest constitution in a few years. Excessive sexual irritability is also brought about by long hours of work in a high temperature, for instance in sugar refineries, laundries, printing establishments, etc. The same may be said of night work with artificial light in overcrowded work-shops, especially where members of both sexes work together.

Here again we are confronted by a number of evils that clearly show the unhealthful and irrational character of present-day conditions. But these evils that are deeply rooted in our social conditions, cannot be removed by moralizing or by resorting to palliative measures, such as social and religious quacks always have in readiness. It is necessary to strike the root of the evil. The only redemption will be to bring about social conditions that shall enable all persons to obtain a natural education, to lead a healthful mode of life and work, and to find normal satisfaction of all natural and healthy desires.

Many obstacles do not exist for the man that do exist for the woman. Owing to his position of rulership, his free choice of a mate is in no wise hampered, except by the social considerations enumerated above. But the nature of marriage as a means of support, the numerical superiority of women, and custom,—all prevent the woman from asserting her wishes. She is obliged to wait until someone seeks her. As a rule she gladly avails herself of the first opportunity of finding a husband who will save her from the social disregard and indifference that are the usual portion of that unfortunate being, the old maid. Many women look down with disdain upon those of their sisters who are possessed of sufficient human dignity not to sell themselves into the prostitution of marriage to the first man who comes along, but prefer to walk on life's thorny path alone. Nevertheless the man who wishes to marry for love has social obstacles to consider. He must ask himself: can I support a wife and the children who are likely to come, without being weighed down by financial cares? If the man has an ideal conception of marriage, if he is determined to let his choice be influenced by

love only, this question becomes all the more important. At present conditions of earning and property are such, that many men must answer this question in the negative, and they accordingly prefer to remain unmarried. Many men do not acquire an independent position, suited to their demands, until late in life, and are not able to support a wife according to her station in life unless she has a considerable fortune of her own. It must be admitted of course, that many young men have an exaggerated idea of what constitutes living according to their station; but owing to the false education of many women and their social habits, these young men must indeed be prepared that their wives will make demands upon them that will exceed their means. They frequently do not make the acquaintance of the good, modest women who are simple in their tastes, because they are modest in their manners also and are not met with in society where men have accustomed themselves to seek wives, while the women they do meet often are the kind who seek to fascinate a man by outward appearances and to deceive him in regard to their personal qualities and their material position. When this type of woman has attained an age at which marriage becomes urgent, lures of all sorts are resorted to all the more eagerly. When such a woman has succeeded in capturing a man, she has become so accustomed to outward show, extravagance in dress and costly enjoyments that she wishes to maintain them in her married life. Here men find themselves on the verge of an abyss, and many prefer to leave the flowers that bloom at this abyss unplucked. They prefer to pursue their path alone and seek entertainment and enjoyment while maintaining their freedom. Deception and fraud are common practices in bourgeois society. It is not surprising that they also play a part in the contracting of marriages and entail severe suffering of both parties.

Statistics show that the educated and wealthy classes as a rule marry later in life than the lower classes. According to Westergaard the average age of marriage in Copenhagen was: among professional people, merchants, manufacturers and bankers, 32.2 years; among mechanics and small dealers, 31.2 years; among clerks and commer-

cial employees, 29.7 years; among waiters and domestic servants, 28, and among factory workers, sailors and day-laborers, 27.5 years. In Prussia from 1881 to 1886 the average ages at which men married were: miners, 27.6; factory workers, 27.7; metal workers, 28; stone-masons, 28.2; building trades, 28.6; workers in wood, 28.7; machinists, 29; teaching, 29.1; agriculture, 29.6; railway service, 30; commerce, 30.9; physicians, clergymen and officials, 31.8 to 33.4. According to Ansell the average age at which the well-to-do and educated classes married in England from 1840 to 1871, was 29.95 years; but since then it has been raised. From 1880 to 1885, the average ages at which men of different professions married, were as follows:

	years		years
Miners	23.56	Clerks	25.75
Textile workers	23.88	Merchants	26.17
Clothing trades	24.42	Farmers	28.73
Mechanics	24.85	Professional men and capitalists	30.72
Day-laborers	25.06		

These figures show how marriage is influenced by social position. The fact that the average age of marriage in most European states has been somewhat lowerred during the last decades, is due to the general growth of industrialism. This may be seen in Germany, Austria and Sweden where the increase of early marriages is in connection with the growing number of persons employed in industry. In older industrial countries, as France and England, the average age of marriage has been raised. Russia forms an exception; here the rise in the average age of marriage is due to the abolition of communal property.

The number of men who are prevented from marrying for numerous reasons is constantly increasing. This applies especially to the men of the upper classes and the higher professions; firstly because they are more pretentious, and secondly because these men are best enabled to find companionship and pleasure outside of marriage. Conditions are especially unfavorable to women in places where there are many pensioneers with their families, and

few young men. There we find from twenty to thirty women among hundred who are unable to marry. The lack of men seeking marriage is most severely felt by those women, who have been accustomed by their social position to require a certain standard of life but who have no dowery. This is especially true of the young girls of those numerous families that depend upon a fixed salary which leaves them socially respectable but poor. These girls often become dangerous competitors to the working girls who earn their living by en broidery, making underwear, making artificial flowers, hats, gloves, etc.; that is, in all those trades in which the employers prefer to have the work done in the homes of the workers. These ladies often work for the lowest wages because they are not obliged to earn their living entirely but only wish to add to the family income or to earn enough to pay for their clothes. Employers favor the competition of these ladies, because it enables them to reduce the wages of the poor proletarian workers and to drive them to the utmost exertion of their strength. Many wives of government officials, whose husbands are poorly paid and cannot maintain them according to their standard of living, also employ their spare time in such sordid competition, which means increased exploitation among large strata of female proletarians.

The agitation carried on by the bourgeois women's clubs to elevate women's work and to gain admission for women into the higher professions, is especially destined to improve the position of women of the upper classes. In order to do this successfully, these clubs seek the patronage of ladies of high rank. In this respect the bourgeois women only follow the example of the bourgeois men, who also seek such patronage and become interested in such endeavors that only show small, never large results. In this way people waste a tremendous amount of effort, and deceive themselves and others in regard to the necessity of thorough-going reform. In these circles no doubt is permitted to arise as to the justice and wisdom of our present state and social order. The conservative nature of such endeavors prevent clubs of this kind from being permeated by so-called destruc-

tive tendencies. At a convention of women in Berlin during the spring of 1894, a minority expressed the thought that it might be well if the bourgeois women would co-operate with the proletarian women, that is, the Socialist women; but with a majority of the delegates this suggestion called forth a storm of protest. But the conservative tendencies of the bourgeois women will not accomplish the liberation of womankind.

How many women are excluded from marriage owing to the causes previously stated, cannot be definitely determined. The numerical superiority of women in Germany is distributed very unevenly, both in regard to the different countries and districts and in regard to age. The following table has been compiled from the census of 1900 (Statistic of the German Empire):

	Number of women for every 1000 men			
	under 15	15 to 40	40 to 60	over 60
Berlin	1012	1044	1191	1659
Kingdom of Saxony	1015	1030	1107	1360
" " Bavaria to the right of the Rhine	1015	1024	1083	1163
" " Bavaria to the left of the Rhine	986	997	1070	1157
" " Wurtemberg	1015	1041	1134	1179
Baden	1000	974	1079	1173
Hamburg	999	1031	1038	1454
Province of Brandenburg	993	1015	1089	1276
" " Pomerania	989	1035	1099	1214
" " the Rhine	991	954	1008	1120
German Empire	995	1008	1087	1218

At the true marriageable age, from 15 to 40 years, the numerical superiority of women in the entire German Empire is 8 for every 1,000 men. The number of male inhabitants between 15 and 40 years of age is 11,100,673; the number of female inhabitants between 15 and 40 years of age is 11,187,779. So we have a super-abundance of 87,106 women. In 1900 there were 11,146,833 German women of child-bearing age (18 to 45 years). Among these only 6,432,772 (57.71 percent) were married; 283,629 (2.54 percent) were widowed; 31,176 (0.28 percent) were

divorced, and 4,399,286 (39.47 percent) were single. The following table shows the proportion of the sexes in other countries:

	In the year	Number of women for every 1000 men			
		under 15	15 to 40	40 to 60	over 60
Germany	1900	995	1008	1087	1218
Austria	1890	1005	1046	1079	1130
Hungary	1900	998	1029	982	1033
Servia	1896	969	952	225	804
Italy	1881	963	1021	1005	980
Switzerland	1888	999	1059	1103	1148
France	1896	998	1012	1029	1108
Louxembourg	1900	992	853	988	1063
Belgium	1890	992	984	1018	1117
Netherlands	1899	986	1031	1031	1145
Denmark	1890	978	1080	1073	1179
Sweden	1899	971	1016	1146	1252
England and Wales	1891	1006	1075	1096	1227
Scotland	1891	973	1073	1165	1389
Ireland	1901	968	1037	1103	1032
United States of America	1900	979	969	989	987
Egypt	1897	943	996	943	1015
Japan	1891	978	962	951	1146
New South Wales	1891	978	827	679	665
Queensland	1891	976	698	559	611
Tasmania	1891	977	877	898	632
New Zealand	1891	979	927	661	654
Cape of Good Hope	1891	989	008	939	1019

This table shows that in all countries having a similar economic structure, similar conditions exist in regard to the proportion of the sexes. In all these countries then a great many women,—apart from all other obstacles already mentioned,—have no prospect of becoming married. In England in 1901 among 1,000 women over 15 years only 496.4 were married; in Scotland, 442.8; in Ireland, 370.9; in Sweden, 468.2; in Norway, 469.9.

How do these facts impress those persons who oppose the struggle of women for independence and equal rights by relegating them to marriage and the home? It is not due to ill will on the part of the women if so many fail to marry.

But what becomes of these victims of our social conditions? That nature has been sinned against is expressed

in the peculiar features and traits of character by which old maids and ascetic old bachelors are distinguished from other persons in all countries and climates, and goes to show the strong and harmful influence resulting from the suppression of natural instincts. Many forms of hysteria among women are due to this cause. Hysteria is also caused by dissatisfaction in marriage, which sometimes results in sterility.

These are the general characteristics of modern marriage and its results. From them we must draw the following conclusion: Present-day marriage is an institution **that is closely connected with existing social conditions, with which it must stand and fall. But this marriage is in a state of decline and dissolution as bourgeois society itself.** Which are the salient points that we have determined in regard to bourgeois marriage?

1.—The birth-rate is declining although the population is increasing, which shows that the economic status of the family has deteriorated.

2.—Divorces are increasing more rapidly than the population is growing, and in most cases women are the ones to seek divorce, although they suffer most in consequence of it, both economically and socially. This shows that the unfavorable factors in marriage are increasing, that marriage is in a state of dissolution.

3.—The marriage-rate is declining, notwithstanding the fact that the population is increasing; which proves that in the eyes of many persons marriage no longer accomplishes its social and moral purpose and is regarded as worthless or of doubtful value.

4.—In almost all civilized states there is a disproportion in the number of the sexes, the female sex predominating. This is not due to natural causes,—since more boys than girls are born,—but to unfavorable social and political factors that are rooted in conditions of state and society.

As all these unnatural conditions that are especially harmful to women are established by the nature of bourgeois society and increase with the duration of its existence, this society proves itself incompetent to abolish the evils and to liberate woman. To accomplish this a different social order will be necessary.

CHAPTER XII.

Prostitution a Necessary Social Institution of Bourgeois Society.

1.—Prostitution and Society.

Marriage constitutes one phase of the sex relations of bourgeois society; prostitution constitutes the other. If men fail to find satisfaction in marriage, they, as a rule, seek it with prostitution; and those men who for one reason or another refrain from marrying, seek satisfaction with prostitutes also. To those men then, who voluntarily or involuntarily lead an unmarried life, and to those who do not find their expectations realized in marriage, opportunities for satisfaction of the sexual impulse are far more favorable than to women.

Men have always regarded it as their "just" privilege to employ prostitution. But they are relentless in condemning a woman who is not a prostitute, when she has "fallen." That natural impulses are implanted in women as well as in men and that these manifest themselves particularly stongly at certain periods of a woman's life, does not alter their judgment. By means of his ruling position man compels woman to suppress her most powerful instincts, and makes chastity the condition of her social position and of marriage. Nothing can prove the dependent position of woman in a more emphatic and revolting way than these vastly differing conceptions in regard to the satisfaction of the same natural impulse.

Man is especially favored by conditions. The results of sexual intercourse have been assigned to the woman by nature, while man has the enjoyment only without trouble or responsibility. This natural advantage of men over women has fostered the unbridled lust which characterizes a great many men. But as a great many causes prevent or limit the legitimate satisfaction of the sexual impulse the result is its illegitimate satisfaction.

Prostitution thus becomes a necessary social institution of bourgeois society, just as the police, the standing army, the church and the capitalist class. This is no ex-

aggeration; we can prove it. We have shown how prostitution was regarded as a necessary institution in ancient society and how it was organized by the state in both Greece and Rome. We have also shown what views prevailed in regard to it during the Christian middle ages. Even St. Augustin who was, after Paul, the staunchest pillar of Christianity and ardently preached asceticism, could not refrain from exclaiming: "Suppress the public prostitutes and the force of passion will overturn everything." St. Thomas Aquin, who is still considered the greatest authority on theology, has expressed the same opinion more forcibly still by saying: "Prostitution in the cities is like the cess-pool in the palace; if you remove the cess-pool the palace will become an unclean and evil smelling place." The provincial council at Milan in 1665 held the same view. But let us consult some modern opinions.

Dr. F. S. Huegel says: "Advancing civilization will gradually clothe prostitution in more pleasing forms, but only with the destruction of the world will it come to an end!"* That is a bold assertion, but whoever cannot think beyond the form of bourgeois society, whoever does not admit that society will transform itself to attain healthful and natural conditions, must agree with Dr. Huegel. M. Rubner, an authority on hygiene, professor at the University of Berlin, and director of the Hygienic Institute, expresses a similar opinion. He says: "Prostitution of women has existed at all times and among all peoples. It is indestructable because it serves the sexual impulse and springs from human nature and because in many cases the tendency to prostitution is due to an inate vice of some women. Just as we find in every population geniuses beside idiots, giants besides dwarfs, and other abnormities, so we also find by the chance of birth abnormities which must lead to prostitution."**

None of the above-named conceive the thought that a different social order might remove the causes of prosti-

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*F. Huegel.--History, Statistics and Regulation of Prostitution in Vienna, 1865.

**Max Rubner--Text Book of Hygienne. Leipsic, 1907.

tution, and none seek to investigate the causes. Some who take up this problem faintly recognize that unfortunate social conditions, weighing heavily upon countless women, might be the chief cause why so many sell their bodies. **But they do not draw the conclusion that if this be the case, it becomes necessary to bring about different** social conditions. Among the few who recognize that economic conditions form the chief cause of prostitution is Th. Bade.* He says: "The causes of the boundless moral degradation from which the prostitute girls emerge are founded on **social** conditions. They are especially due to the decline of the middle classes, particularly the artisan class, among whom only very few continue to ply their trade independently." Bade concludes his observations by saying: "Material need which has destroyed many middle class families and continues to destroy them also leads to their moral degradation, especially to that of the female sex."**

But prostitution is not an institution of nature that, as R. Schmoelder says: "Will remain a constant companion of humanity,"† it is a social institution without which we cannot conceive bourgeois society.

The police physician of Leipsic, Dr. J. Kuehn, says: "Prostitution is not only a bearable, but a necessary evil. It protects women from adultery (which only men have a right to commit—the author) and guards virtue (of course the virtue of women because men are not required to be virtuous—the author) against assault and destruction."†† These words grossly characterize the incarnate selfishness of men. Kuehn maintains the correct position

*H. Bade. Procurers and public dance halls.

**Statistics gathered by the Berlin police in 1871-72 concerning the parentage of 2,224 enrolled prostitutes showed the following figures: 1,015 equal 47.9 per cent. came from the artisan class; 467 equal 22.0 per cent. were daughters of factory laborers; 305 equal 14.4 per cent. of minor officials; 222 equal 10.4 per cent. of merchants, etc.; 37 equal 4.1 per cent. of farmers, and 26 equal 1.2 per cent of military men. With 102 the father's profession could not be determined.

†R. Schmoelder, Punishment of fornication as a trade.

††J. Kuehn. Prostitution in the nineteenth century from the standpoint of police sanitation.

of a police physician, whose duty it is to guard men against unpleasant diseases by the police surveillance of prostitution. Only the man is taken into consideration to whom celibacy is horrible and a torture, but the millions of women doomed to celibacy must content themselves. What is considered right in the man's case, is considered wrong, immoral and criminal in the woman's.

Another interesting gentleman is Dr. Fock, who regards prostitution as a "necessary correlation of our civilization."* He fears an overproduction of human beings if all persons should marry after having attained maturity, and therefore considers it important that prostitution should be regulated by the state. He considers police surveillance of prostitution justifiable, and that the State should furnish men with prostitutes who are free from syphilis. He declares himself in favor of closest surveillance of all women who can be convicted of leading a disorderly life. But can this surveillance be carried out, if ladies leading a disorderly life belong to the upper classes? It is the old story. Dr. Fock also recommends that a tax should be levied upon prostitutes and that they should be confined to certain streets. In other words, the **Christian state** should make prostitution a source of income by state organization and protection of vice in the interest of men.

Dr. Henry Severus,** who also favors legal recognition of prostitution maintains an original point of view. He regards it as a useful institution, because it is a necessary correlation of marriage, and that without it the free choice in marriage would be impaired. According to him prostitution is a sort of safety-valve of bourgeois society. He claims: "Much of the poverty that leads to such deplorable social conditions may be traced to the fact, that marriages are recklessly contracted, without questioning how the necessary means of livelihood might be obtained. It is in the interest of the state, that such marriages should not be contracted, for the children that spring from them cannot be sufficiently provided for by

*Dr. Fock—Prostitution in its ethical and sanitary aspect.

**Dr. H. Severns—Prostitution and the state.

their parents, nor do they belong in the foundling hospital, being legitimate children, and thus become a **peril to society.** "Prostitution," he goes on to say, "prevents that the force of natural instinct should lead to the contracting of marriages that result in an **increase of those elements of the population** who, owing to lack of education and an unfortunate childhood, **developes sentiments that are hostile to the state and become enemies of society."** So according to this, state regulation of vice furnishes a protection and a remedy against socialism—a view that may at least lay claim to originality.

So we may reiterate our assertion, prostitution is a necessary social institution of bourgeois society, just as the police, the standing army, the church and the capitalist class.

2. Prostitution and the State.

State supervision and organization of prostitution does not exist in the German empire as it does in France; prostitution is merely tolerated. Disorderly houses are prohibited by law and procurers may be severely punished. But notwithstanding these laws in many German cities, among others in Mayence, Magdeburg, Altona, Kiel, Nuremberg, Worms, Freiburg, Leipsic, Regensburg, Hamburg, Augsburg, Wuerzburg, disorderly houses exist that are tolerated by the police.* This seems an incredible state of affairs and its contradiction to the laws must be well known to our government officials. According to German law, persons renting an apartment to a prostitute are subject to punishment. On the other hand, the police are obliged to tolerate thousands of prostitutes and to protect them in their trade if they submit to the prescribed rules, for instance, to regular examination by a physician. But if the state makes concessions to prostitutes and supports them in the plying of their trade, it is necessary for them to have a residence also; in fact, it becomes necessary to public health and order that their trade should be carried on

*Paul Kampffmeyer—Prostitution as a social class phenomenon and the social and political struggle against it.

in definite quarters. What contradictions! On the one hand the state officially recognizes prostitution; on the other hand it persecutes and punishes prostitutes and procurers. Moreover, this attitude of the state confirms, that to modern society, prostitution is a sphynx whose riddle it cannot solve. Religion and morality condemn prostitution, the laws punish it, and yet the state tolerates and protects it. In other words, our society that prides itself on its morality, its piety, its civilization and culture must suffer itself to be polluted by the slow poison of immorality and corruption. Still another conclusion follows from these conditions: **the Christian state admits that marriage is insufficient and that the man is justified in seeking illegitimate satisfaction of the sexual impulse.** The woman is taken into consideration by this same state only, inasmuch as she yields to the illegitimate satisfaction of male lust, that is, becomes a prostitute. The police supervision and control of enlisted prostitutes does not include the men who mingle with the prostitutes, which ought to be a matter of course if the medical surveillance were to be partly effective at least, quite disregarding the fact that justice demands that the law should be equally applied to both sexes.

This protection of the man from the woman by the state overturns the nature of conditions. It appears as if men were the weaker, and women the stronger sex, as if women were the seducer, and poor, weak man the seduced. The myth of temptation of Adam and Eve in Paradise continues to influence our conceptions and laws and sustains the Christian assumption, that "woman is the great seducer, the source of sin." Men ought to be ashamed of the pitiable and unworthy part they are playing, but it is pleasing to them to be regarded as "weak" and as "victims of seduction" for **the more they are protected the more they may sin.**

Wherever men come together in great numbers, they do not seem to be able to enjoy themselves without prostitution. That was seen among other instances by the occurrences at the rifle match in Berlin during the summer of 1890. These occurrences caused 2,300 women to sign a petition to the mayor of the German capital, which

read as follows: "We beg your honor to permit our quoting what has been reported in regard to this festival by the press and other sources. These reports, which we read with the greatest indignation and disgust, among other things thus described the entertainments provided at the festival: 'First, German Herold, greatest Café Chantant of the world; hundred ladies and forty gentlemen; besides small variety shows and rifle ranges from which exceedingly obtrusive women molested the men; furthermore free concerts, where lightly garbed waitresses boldly and unrestrained, with seductive smiles forced their attentions alike on men and youths, on college boys and fathers of families. But the 'lady' who was almost nude and who invited them to visit the booths 'The Secrets of Hamburg, or a Night in St. Pauli,' might at least have been removed by the police. But the worst, something that plain men and women from the provinces can hardly accredit to the far-famed capital of the empire, was the fact that the committee on arrangements had permitted, that instead of waiters, young women in great numbers were engaged as waitresses and bar-maids without pay. We German women, as mothers, wives and sisters, frequently have occasion to send our brothers, husbands, sons and daughters to Berlin in service of the fatherland, and so we beg your honor, trusting to your influence as chief executive of the national capital to investigate these occurrences and to prevent a repetition of these orgies, especially at the forthcoming celebration of the victory at Sedan."

During all large festivals, including the national ones, when men come together in great numbers, similar scenes occur.*

The German governments made frequent attempts to do away with the contradiction that exists between the legal theories and actual practice in regard to prostitution. They introduced bills among other things, which authorized the police to assign definite places of residence

*"When the Farmers' Association convenes in the Circus Bush, or large conventions are being held in Berlin, there is a rise in price of human flesh." Satyr—Life at Night in the Friedrich Strasse, Berlin, 1907.

to the prostitutes. It was admitted that prostitution could not be suppressed and that it would therefore be better to limit it to certain places and to control it. Such a law—on this all were agreed— would have reinstated the public brothels that had been officially abolished in Prussia during the forties of the last century. The introduction of these bills caused great excitement and aroused much protest. It was stated that the state by extending protection to vice spread the opinion that prostitution was not averse to morality and was an officially sanctioned trade. These bills that met with much opposition in Parliament, have until now, remained unsettled. But their very introduction shows the predicament of the state.

State regulation and control of vice not only create the belief among men that the state favors prostitution, it also leads them to believe that this regulation protects them from disease, and this belief makes men more reckless and increases the employment of prostitution. Public brothels do not diminish sexual diseases, they promote them, because **men become more reckless and careless.** To what conceptions the official protection of brothels leads may be seen from the term applied to the licensed prostitutes in England, who were called "Queen's women" because they had obtained official recognition through a law enacted by the queen. Experience has taught, that neither the introduction of public brothels under police supervision nor regular medical examination insure safety from contagion.

To an inquiry from the woman's committee of Vienna for "combatting the state regulation of vice Dr. Albert Eulenburg wrote as follows: "In regard to the question of police supervision of prostitutes I fully share, as a matter of principle, the point of view set forth in your petition, though, of course I recognize the practical difficulty of its immediate application. I regard this practice which has been introduced in most countries as unjust, unworthy, and moreover as entirely unsuited to attain the object stated with any certain degree of safety." On July 20, 1892, the Berlin Medical Society declared that

the reinstatement of public brothels would be undesirable, both from a hygienic and moral point of view.

The nature of these diseases is such that in many cases it cannot be recognized easily, or at once, and to attain a certain degree of safety several daily examinations would be necessary. But this is impossible, owing to the great number of women in question and the large expense it would entail. Where 30 to 40 prostitutes have to be examined in one hour, the examination is nothing more than a farce, and in the same way one or two weekly examinations are entirely insufficient. Dr. Blaschko* says: "The belief, that control of prostitutes furnishes protection against contagion, unfortunately is a widespread and detrimental error. Rather can it be asserted that everyone who asociates with a prostitute or a frivolous girl faces a grave danger each time."

The success of these measures fails also because the men who carry the germs of disease from one woman to another remain entirely free from control. A prostitute who has just been examined and found healthy may become infected by a diseased man in the very same hour, and before the next examination takes place, or before she herself has become aware of the disease, she may have infected a number of other visitors. The control is an imaginary one. Besides the obligatory examinations by male instead of female physicians deeply injure the sense of modesty and help to destroy it completely. This statement is confirmed by a great many physicians who perform such examinations.** The same is admitted even in the official report of the Berlin police department, where it says it must be admitted **that official enrollment**

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*Handbook of Hygiene, published by Th. Weyl, M. D. Hygiene of Prostitution and Venereal Diseases, compiled by Dr. A. Blaschko, Berlin.

**"As a matter of fact the system of regulation does not successfully fight the venereal diseases, nor even noticeably diminish them. The delusive feeling of safety given to men makes them more reckless. The increase in the number of correlation heightens the danger of contagion by at least as much as it has been diminished by the removal of a few who were seriously diseased." August Forel—The Sex Question, Munich, 1907.

still increases the moral degradation of those affected by it.* The prostitutes do whatever they can to escape this control.

Another evil result of these measures is, that it is made very difficult, indeed almost impossible to prostitutes, to return to a decent means of livelihood. **A woman who has fallen into police control is lost to society; as a rule she miserably perishes after a few years.** The fifth congress for combatting immorality, held in Geneva, thus expressed itself forcibly and correctly against the state regulation of vice: "The obligatory medical examination of prostitutes is a cruel punishment to the woman, for in those who are subjected to it the last remnant of modesty that may still exist in the most depraved, is forcibly destroyed. The state that seeks to regulate prostitution by police control forgets that it owes equal protection to both sexes, it degrades and demoralizes the woman. Every system of official regulation of vice permits of arbitrary police rule and leads to the infringement of personal safety against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, against which even the lowest criminal is guarded. As these encroachments occur only at the expense of the woman, they lead to an unnatural inequality between her and the man. The woman is degraded to a mere object and is no longer treated as a person. **She is excluded from the law.**"

How little police and medical control avail has been strikingly shown in England. Before the beginning of official regulation, in the year 1867, the number of venereal diseases in the army were, according to a military report, 91 per 1,000. In 1886, after the regulation had been in effect for nineteen years they were 110 per 1,000. In 1892, six years after the regulation laws had been repealed they were only 79 per 1,000. Among civilians the cases of syphilis were 10 per 1,000 during the years 1879 to 1882, that was during the years of public regulation. After the abolition of public regulation, from 1885 to 1889 they were only 8.1 per 1,000.

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*Third report of the royal police department of Berlin for the years 1881 to 1890.

The prostitutes themselves were far more affected by the regulation laws than the soldiers. In 1866 there were among 1,000 prostitutes, 121 cases of disease. In 1868 after the law had been in force for two years there were 202 cases among 1,000. After that the number gradually decreased, but in 1874 there still were 16 cases more per thousand than in 1866. The death rate among prostitutes also increased appallingly during the reign of that law. When at the close of the sixties of the last century the English government attempted to extend the regulation laws to include all English cities, a storm of indignation arose among English women. They regarded the law as an insult to their entire sex. The habeas corpus, they claimed, that fundamental law which guaranteed protection to every English citizen, was to be abolished for women; every brutal police officer impelled by revenge or other base motives, would be permitted to attack the most respectable woman if he suspected her of being a prostitute, while the licentiousness of men would not be interfered with, but would on the contrary be protected and fostered by law.

The fact that English women under the leadership of Josephine Butler championed the most degraded of their sex, caused ignorant men to misconstrue their intentions and to make insulting remarks about them. But regardless of these attacks they opposed the extension of the obnoxious law with utmost energy. In newspaper articles and pamphlets arguments in favor of it and against it were fully discussed, until its extension was prevented, and in 1886 is was repealed.*

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*The most reliable supporters of the women were the English workingmen. In her famous publication on "The History of a Crusade," Josephine Butler says: "We resolved to appeal to the nation. In the fall of 1869 we sent personal letters to every member of Parliament of both houses and to many other leaders of political and religious parties. Of all the replies received only very few expressed complete agreement with our point of view. As we obtained so little encouragement from those circles whose interest we had hoped to win, we turned to the working class population of the country. I am conscious of the fact that the working class has its faults and is no less devoid of egotism than other classes of the

The German police has a similar power, and sometimes cases have been called to public attention in Berlin, Leipsic, Cologne, Hannover and many other places, showing that abuses or "misunderstandings" easily occur with the exercise of this power, but not much is heard among us of an energetic opposition to such transgressions.* In Norway, brothels were **prohibited** in 1888, and in the capital, Christiania, the obligatory registration of prostitutes and the medical examination connected with it was **abolished. In January, 1893, the same ordinance was enacted for the entire country.** Very correctly Mrs. Guillaume-Shack says in regard to state "protection" for men: "To what purpose do we teach our sons to respect virtue and morality if the state declares vice to be a necessary evil; if young men, before they have even attained intellectual maturity, are given women stamped like commodities by the public authorities as playthings of their passions?"

A man inflicted with a sexual disease may indulge in unbridled licentiousness and may infect any number of these unfortunate beings, most of whom have been driven by seducers or by bitterest need into this abominable trade. The law leaves him unmolested. But woe to the poor, diseased prostitute who does not immediately submit to medical treatment! The garrison towns, university towns and sea port towns, where many strong, healthy men aggregate, are the chief centers of prostitution and its dangerous diseases, which are disseminated all over the land and everywhere spread suffering and destruction. The moral qualification of a great number of

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population. But I am firmly convinced that when the people are appealed to in the name of justice they almost invariably show a loyal and reliable conviction."

*In 1901 it occurred in Vienna that a French lady was abused by the police agent, Newhofer, amidst the shouts of a mob, was imprisoned among prostitutes and subjected to a forcible medical examination. This case led to five interpellations in the diet. In 1902 in Hamburg and Kiel ladies were arrested as prostitutes and were treated with brutality. These occurrences led to a gigantic meeting of protest in Hamburg on September 8, that was attended by members of all parties.

our students is described in the following manner in the "Gazette for Combatting Public Immorality."* Among a majority of the students the views concerning moral questions are appallingly base, almost depraved." From these circles that boast about their "German spirit" and "German morals," our public officials, prosecutors and judges are obtained. How bad matters must be, especially among students, may be seen from the following: "In the fall of 1901, a large group of professors and physicians, among them leading men in their professions, published an appeal to German students, in which they called special attention to the deplorable results of sexual debauchery, and also warned the young men of excessive indulgence in alcoholic drinks, which in many cases have a stimulating influence on sexual debauchery. At last people are beginning to recognize that the policy of silence is a mistaken one, and that we must call a spade a spade, if we would check an immeasurable disaster. Among other classes of society also this warning should not remain unheeded.

The Biblical utterance that the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon their children applies in its fullest measure to the man afflicted with a sexual disease; unfortunately also to his innocent wife. "Apoplectic strokes among young men and women, forms of paralysis of the spine and softening of the brain, various nervous diseases, weakening of the eye sight, inflammation of the bowels, sterility and general debility are frequently due to no other cause than a neglected case of syphilis, that has, for good reasons been kept secret. As conditions are to-day ignorance and carelessness transform blooming daughters of the nation into weak and sickly creatures who must pay with chronic diseases for the extravagances of their husbands before and outside of marriage."** Dr. A. Blaschko says among other things: "Epidemics like cholera, small pox, diphtheria and typhoid terrify the people, because the suddenness of the results are clearly

*August 15, 1893, Berlin.

**The detrimental results of prostitution. Dr. Oscar Lassar, Berlin, 1892, August Hirschwald.

visible to everybody. But syphilis is regarded by society with an appalling indifference. And yet syphilis is far more widespread and much more terrible in its effects than any of the above-mentioned diseases."* The fact that we regard it as "indecent" to discuss such matters, accounts for this indifference. Even the German diet could not bring itself to provide legally for the treatment of persons afflicted with sexual diseases by means of the sick benefit funds, as in the case of other diseases.**

The poison of syphilis is the most tenacious and the hardest to eradicate of all poisons. Many years after the disease has been apparently cured the evil results frequently manifest themselves in the wife of the diseased or in his new-born children, and countless sicknesses of married women and children are due to the sexual diseases of husbands and fathers. In a petition addressed to the German Parliament in the fall of 1899 by the society "Jugendschutz" (protection of the young) it was stated that there are about 30,000 children in Germany who are blind from birth due to contagion from gonorrhoea, and that among 50 per cent of childless women, sterility is due to the same cause.† As a matter of fact an alarmingly large number of marriages is childless, and moreover the number of childless marriages is increasing. Feeble-mindedness and idiocy among children is also not infrequently due to the same cause, and many instances have shown what disasters can be caused with vaccination by a single drop of blood inoculated with the poison of syphilis. The great number of persons suffering from a sexual disease has caused several suggestions to be made for the enactment of

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*Treatment of sexual diseases in sick benefit fund institutioons and hospitals, Berlin, 1890.

**The ordinance of the insurance laws which enabled communities to refuse the payment of sick benefits in cases of sexual diseases was repealed by a law on May 25, 1903, that went into effect January 1, 1904.

†Examinations in asylums for the blind showed that the following number of persons were blind from birth through infection: Berlin, 21.3; Vienna, 31; Breslau, 35.1; Budapest, 47.9; Munich, 73.8. —Th. Weyl, Social Hygiene, Jena, 1904.

a national law providing special treatment for persons so afflicted. But until now no such step was taken, probably because one feared the enormity of the evil that would then become manifest. Medical authorities have generally gained the conviction, that gonorrhoea, which was formerly regarded as harmless, is one of the most dangerous of these diseases. This disease continues to act upon the human system even after it has been apparently cured. As Dr. Blaschko reported in a lecture in Berlin on the 20th of February, 1898, the medical examinations of prostitutes reveal only one-fourth, or at best one-third of the actual number of cases. As a matter of fact, the overwhelmingly great majority of prostitutes are afflcted with this disease, while only a small percentage of the cases are properly diagnosed. Of those in whom the disease is recognized it is again only a small percentage with whom a permanent cure is effected. Here society is confronted by an evil for which it has no remedy as yet, but which is an imminent peril to mankind, especially to its female half.

3. The White Slave Trade.

As the number of men increases who refrain from marriage, be it by choice or under the pressure of circumstances, and who seek illegitimate satisfaction of the sexual impulse, the temptations and opportunities for illegitimate satisfaction increase likewise. Because immoral enterprises yield high profits many unscrupulous persons are engaged in them, and resort to the craftiest methods to attract customers. Every requirement of the patrons according to position and rank and means is taken into consideration. If the public brothels could reveal their secets, it would become known that their inmates, who are of lowly birth, ignorant and uneducated, but possessed of physical charms, have intimate relations with educated and cultured men who occupy prominent social positions. Here they freely come and go, public officials, military men, representatives of the people, judges, the aristocracy of birth and finance, of commerce and industry. Many of these men are regarded as upholders of

public morality and guardians of the sanctity of marriage and the family, and some are leaders of Christian charitable undertakings and members of organizations "to combat prostitution." In Berlin, the owner of one of these establishments serving immoral purposes even publishes an illustrated gazette, in which the doings of his patrons are described. In this establishment 400 persons can be seated, and every evening a fashionable gathering assembles there, among them (so the gazette tells us) many members of the aristocracy." Frequently well known actresses and famed belles of the demi-monde are present. The merriment reaches its height when in the wee hours of the morning the proprietors arrange an eel-catching tournamentt. Then the fair patronesses squat about the tanks with their clothes tucked up and try to catch the eel, and so forth. The police is well aware of these doings, but carefully refrains from interfering with the amusements of fashionable society. The following circular, sent by the management of a Berlin dancing establishment to fashionable men, is another shameless form of pandering. It reads: "The undersigned management of the hunting establishment to whom you, dear sir, have been recommended as a passionate hunter, beg to call your attention to a newly-opened hunting ground with a splendid stock of deer and to invite you to the first chase on August 26th. Special circumstances make our new hunting grounds particularly convenient and pleasant: they are located in the heart of the city and the game-laws are not enforced." Our bourgeois society is like a great masquerade in which all seek to deceive one another. Every one wears his official gown with dignity, while inofficially he indulges his passions without restraint. Yet, outwardly, all feign decency, religiousness and morality. In no age was hypocrisy as widespread as in ours.

The supply of women for immoral purposes increases faster than the demand. Unfavorable social conditions, poverty, seduction, and the fact that many women are attracted by the outward glitter of an apparently free ife, help to furnish victims from all strata of society. In

a novel by Hans Wachenhusen* we find a characteristic description of the conditions that prevail in the German capital. The author thus describes the purpose of his novel: "My book especially tells of the victims of the female sex and their increasing depreciation as a result of our unnatural social conditions, partly through their own fault, partly through a neglected education and the love of luxury. It tells of the surplus of this sex that makes the lives of those, who are born and grow up, more hopeless each day. I wrote as a public prosecutor might write, who had gathered data from the life of a criminal to determine his guilt. If a novel is supposed to be drawn from imagination, then the following is not a novel, but a faithful portrayal of life." In Berlin conditions are neither better nor worse than in other large cities. Whether orthodox St. Petersburg or Catholic Rome, Christian Berlin, or heathenish Paris, Puritan London or frivolous Vienna is more nearly like ancient Babylonia, it is hard to determine. Similar social conditions bring forth similar results. "Prostitution has its written and unwritten laws, its resources, its various resorts from the lowliest, to the glittering palace, its countless degrees from the lowest to the most cultured and refined. It has its special amusements and its special places of meeting, its police, its hospitals, its prisons and its literature.** "We no longer celebrate the festivals of Osiris, the Bacchanalia and the Indian orgies in the spring month, but in Paris and other large cities in the darkness of night behind the walls of public and private houses, orgies and Bacchanalia take place that beggar description.†

Under such conditions the traffic in women assumes huge dimensions. It is carried on in the midst of civilization on a large scale and in a well organized manner, and is but rarely detected by the police. An army of male and female jobbers, agents and transporters carry on the trade in as cold-blooded a manner as if they were barter-

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*"What the street engulfs." Social novel in 3 vols., Berlin. A. Hoffmann & Co.

**Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell—The Moral Education.

†Mantegazza—L'Amour Dans L'Humanitê.

ing a commodity. Certificates are made out that contain an exact description and qualification of the various "pieces" and are handed to the transporters as a bill of lading for the customer. As with all merchandise, the price varies according to the quality, and the "goods" are assorted and shipped from different places and countries according to the taste and requirements of the customers. By skilful manipulations the traders seek to escape the pursuit of the police, and sometimes large sums are employed to bribe the guardians of law and order. A number of such cases have been revealed in Paris.*

To Germany belongs the deplorable reputation of being a market for women to half the world. The rambling spirit, which is innate in the German people, also seems to affect a portion of the German women, so that they furnish a larger quota to international prostitution than the women of other nations, with the exception of Austria and Hungary. German women populate the harems of the Turks and the public brothels in the interior of Siberia and as far as Bombay, Singapore, San Francisco and Chicago. In his book on travel "From Japan, through Siberia to Germany," the author, W. Joest, says the following about the German white-slave trade: "In our moral Germany, people often grow indignant over the slave trade carried on by some negra sovereign in western Africa, or over conditions in Cuba or Brazil, while we ought to consider the beam in our own eye. In no other country of the world white slaves are bartered to the same extent, from no other countries are such large quantities of this living merchandise shipped as from Germany and Austria. The course taken by these girls can be clearly traced. From Hamburg they

*The relation of the police to prostitution is an interesting one in more than one respect. In 1899 it was shown in a trial in Berlin that a police commissioner employed a prostitute to watch and question a student whom he suspected of being an anarchist. In Prague the wife of a common policeman had her license for maintaining a disorderly house revoked because her husband had ill-treated a prisoner. So the police rewards its officers by giving them licenses for the maintenance of disorderly houses. What lovely conditions!

are shipped to South America, Bahie, Rio de Janeiro; the greater part are bound for Montevideo and Buneos Ayres, while a few go through the Straits of the Magellan to Valparaiso. Another stream is directed over England to North America, but there competition with the domestic product is unfavorable to the trade, so the girls are shipped down the Mississippi to Texas and Mexico. From New Orleans the coasts down to Panama are furnished. Other troops of girls are sent across the Alps to Italy and on to Alexandria, Suez, Bombay, even to Hongkong and Shanghai, Dutch India and eastern India, especially Japan are poor markets, because Holland will not tolerate white girls of this sort in its colonies, and because in Japan the native girls are far too pretty and cheap. Moreover, the trade must reckon with American competition from San Francisco. Russia is supplied by eastern Prussia, Pomerania and Poland. The first station is Riga. Here the dealers from St. Petersburg and Moscow assort their merchandise and send it in great quantities to Nishny Novgorod across the Ural Mountains to Irbit and Krestowsky and even into the interior of Siberia. In Tschita, for instance, I met a German girl who had been traded in this way. This trade is thoroughly organized—agents and traveling salesmen carry on the negotiations. **If the foreign office of the German Empire would ask its consuls for reports on this trade interesting tables might be compiled.**

That this traffic is flourishing, has been repeatedly stated by Socialist deputies in the German Parliament.

Other centers of the white-slave trade are Galicia and Hungary, from where women are sent to Constantinople and other Turkish cities. Especially many Jewesses, who are otherwise rarely met with in public brothels are bartered to the Turks. The prices for the journey and other expenses are usually paid the agents in advance. In order to deceive the public authorities, fictitious telegrams, that are not likely to attract attention, are sent to the customer. Some of these telegrams read: "Five kegs of Hungarian wine will arrive in Varna to-morrow," meaning five beautiful girls"; or "Have shipped three barrels of potatoes by S. S. Minerva." This refers

to three less beautiful girls: "Common goods." Another telegram reads: "Will arrive next Friday per S. S. Kobra; have two bales of fine silk on board."

4. The Increase of Prostitution.—Illegitimate Motherhood.

It is difficult to estimate the number of prostitutes—impossible to determine it exactly. The police may approximately determine the number of women for whom prostitution is the sole or chief source of income, but they **can not** determine the far greater number of those who resort to prostitution as a partial support. Nevertheless the numbers that have been determined are enormous. According to Oettingen at the close of the sixties of the last century the number of prostitutes in London was estimated to be 80,000. In Paris on January 1, 1906, the number of enrolled prostitutes was 6,196, but more than one-third of these manage to evade police and medical control. In 1892 there were about 60 public brothels in Paris, harboring from 600 to 700 prostitutes; in 1900 there were only 42. Their number is constantly decreasing (In 1852 there were 217 public brothels). At the same time the number of private prostitutes has greatly increased. An investigation, undertaken by the municipal council of Paris in 1889, estimated that the number of women who sell their bodies had reached the enormous figure of 120,000. The chief of police of Paris, Léfrine, estimates the number of enrolled prostitutes at 6,000 and the number of private prostitutes at 70,000. During the years 1871 to 1903 the police inhibited 725,000 harlots and 150,000 were imprisoned. During the year 1906, the number of those who were inhibited amounted to no less than 56,196.*

The following numbers of prostitutes were enrolled with the Berlin police: In 1886, 3006; in 1890, 4,039; in 1893, 4,663; in 1897, 5,098; in 1899, 4,544, and in 1905, 3,287. In 1890 six physicians were employed, who performed examinations for two hours daily. Since then the

*Dr. Licard de Planzoles—La Fonction Sexuelle. Paris, 1908.

number of physicians has been increased to twelve, and since several years a female physician has been employed to perform these examinations, notwithstanding the objections of many male physicians. In Berlin, as in Paris, the enrolled prostitutes only constitute a small fraction of the entire number, that authorities on this subject have estimated to be at least 50,000. In the single year 1890 there were 2,022 waitresses in the cafés of Berlin, who, with very few exceptions were given to prostitution. The yearly increase in the number of harlots inhibited by the police also shows that prostitution in Berlin is growing. The numbers of those inhibited were: In 1881, 10,878; in 1890, 16,605; in 1896, 26,703; in 1897, 22,915. In the year 1907 17,018 harlots were brought to trial before the magistrates, which was about 57 for each day the court was in session.

How large is the number of prostitutes throughout Germany? Some claim that there are about 200,000. Stroehmberg estimates the number of enrolled and private prostitutes in Germany to be between 75,000 and 100,000. In 1908 Kamillo K. Schneider attempted to determine the exact number of enrolled prostitutes. His table for the year 1905 includes 79 cities. "As besides these there are other large places in which a considerable number of girls may be found, he believes 15,000 to be a fairly correct estimate of the entire number. With a population of approximately 60,600,000 inhabitants that means one enrolled prostitute for 4,040 inhabitants." In Berlin there is one prostitute for 608, in Breslau for 514, in Hannover for 529, in Kiel for 527, in Danzig for 487, in Cologne for 369, and in Brunswick for 363 inhabitants. The number of enrolled prostitutes is constantly decreasing.* According to various estimates the ratio of the number of public controlled prostitutes is to the number of private prostitutes, as 1 to 5, or 1 to 10. We are, accordingly dealing with a vast army of those to whom prostitution is a means of subsistence, and conformably great is the number of victims claimed by disease and death.

*Kamillo Karl Schneider—The Prostitute and Society—a Sociological and Ethical Study, Leipsic, 1908.

That the great majority of prostitutes grows thoroughly tired of their mode of life, that it even becomes revolting to them, is an experience on which all authorities are agreed. But very few of those who have fallen victims to prostitution ever find an opportunity to escape from it. In 1899 the Hamburg branch of the British, Continental and General Federation undertook an investigation among prostitutes. Although only few answered the questions put to them, these answers are quite characteristic. To the question "Would you continue in this trade if you could find some other means of support?" one replied, "What can one do when one is despised by all people?" Another replied "I appealed for help from the hospital"; a third, "My friend released me by paying my debts." All suffer from the slavery of their liabilities to the brothel keepers. One gave the information that she owed her landlady $175. Clothes, underwear, finery, everything is furnished by the keepers at fabulous prices; they are also charged the highest prices for food and drink. Besides, they must pay the keeper a daily sum for their room. This rent amounts to $1.50, $2 or $3 daily. One wrote that she was compelled to pay her procurer from $5 to $6 daily. No keeper will permit a girl to depart unless she has paid her debts. The statements made by these girls also cast an unfavorable light on the actions of the police, who side more with the brothel keepers than with the helpless girls. In short, we here behold in the midst of Christian civilization, the worst kind of slavery. In order to better maintain the interests of their trade, the brothel keepers have even founded a trade paper that is international in character.

The number of prostitutes increases at the same rate at which the number of working women increases, who find employment in various lines of trade at starvation wages. Prostitution is fostered by the industrial crises that have become inevitable in bourgeois society, and to hundreds of thousands of families mean bitter need and desperate poverty. A letter sent by the chief of police, Bolton, to a factory inspector on October 31, 1865, shows that during the crisis of the English cotton industry

caused by the Civil War in the United States, the number of young prostitutes increased more than during the preceding twenty-five years.* But not only working girls fall victims to prostitution. Its victims are also recruited from the "higher professions." Lombroso and Ferrero quote Macé,** who says of Paris: "The certificate of a governess of a higher or lower grade is far less an assignment to a means of support than to **suicide, theft and prostitution.**"

Parent-Duchatelet has at one time compiled statistics which showed the following. Among 5,183 prostitutes there were 1,441 who were driven to prostitution by utmost need and misery. 1,225 were orphans and poor. 86 had become prostitutes to support old parents, young brothers and sisters, or their own children. 1,425 had been deserted by their lovers; 404 had been seduced by officers and soldiers and had been carried off to Paris. 289 had been servant girls who were seduced by their employers and subsequently discharged, and 280 had come into Paris to seek employment.

Mrs. Butler, the ardent champion of the poorest and most unfortunate of her sex, says: "Accidental circumstances, the death of a father or a mother, unemployment, insufficient wages, poverty, false promises, seduction, the laying of snares may have driven her into her misfortune." Very instructive is the information given by Karl Schneidt in a pamphlet on "The Misery of Waitresses in Berlin,"* in regard to the causes that drive so many of them to prostitution. He says that a surprisingly large number of servant girls become waitresses, which means in nearly all cases that they become prostitutes. Among the answers Schneidt received to his list of questions that he circulated among waitresses are the following: "Because I became pregnant by my employer and had to support my child"; "because my book of references was spoiled"; because I could not earn enough by sewing and such work"; because I had been

*Karl Marx, Capital.
**Ibid.
*Berlin, 1893.

discharged from the factory and could not find other employment"; "because my father died and there were four younger ones at home," etc. That servant girls, who have been seduced by their employers, constitute a large quota of the prostitutes is a well known fact. Dr. Max Taube* makes some very incriminating statements concerning the great number of seductions of servant girls by employers or their sons. The upper classes also furnish their quota to prostitution. Here poverty is not the cause, but seduction, the inclination to lead a frivolous life, the love of dress and enjoyment. A pamphlet on "Fallen Girls and Police Control"** contains the following statement in regard to the prostitutes from these classes: "Horror stricken many a worthy citizen, minister, teacher, public official or military man learns that his daughter is secretly addicted to prostitution. **If all these daughters could be named a social revolution would have to take place, or the public ideas concerning virtue and morality would be seriously impaired."** The high class prostitutes, the smart set among them, are drawn from these circles. A great many actresses also owing to a glaring disparity between their salary and the cost of their wardrobe, are compelled to resort to this vile means of support.† The same is true of many other girls who are employed as salesladies and in similar positions. Many employers are so infamous that they seek to justify low wages by hinting at the assistance from "friends." Seamstresses, dressmakers, milliners, factory workers numbering many thousands are subjected to the same conditions. Employers and their assistants, merchants, landed proprietors, etc., frequently regard it as their privilege to make female workers and employees subservient to their lusts. Our pious conservatives like

*Max Taube, M. D.—Protection of Illegitimate Children, Leipsic, 1893, Veit & Co.

**Berlin, 1889, Wm. Iszleib.

†In a pamphlet on "Capital and the Press," Berlin, 1891, Dr. F. Mehring relates that a talented actress was employed at a well known theatre at a monthly salary of $25, while the expenses for her wardrobe amounted to $250 in a single month. The difference was made up by a "friend."

to point to the rural conditions in regard to morality as a sort of ideal compared to the large cities and industrial districts. But whoever is acquainted with the conditions knows that they are not ideal. We find this opinion confirmed by a lecture delivered by the owner of a knightly estate in the fall of 1889, which newspapers in Saxony reported in the following manner:

"Grimma. Dr. v. Waechter, owner of a knightly estate, at a meeting of the diocese which was held here delivered a lecture on **sexual immorality in our rural communities,** in which local conditions were depicted in no favorable light. With great frankness the lecturer admitted that the **employers** themselves, even the **married** ones, frequently maintained intimate relations with their female employees, and that the results of such relations were either atoned for by a payment of money or were hidden from the eyes of the world by a crime. Unfortunately it could not be denied, that immorality was introduced into the rural districts not only by country girls who had been employed in the cities as wet nurses and by boys who had become demoralized while serving in the army, but also by **educated men,** by managers of the large estates and army officers, who come into the country during manoeuvres. Dr. v. Waechter claims that here in the country there actually are **few girls who have attained their seventeenth birthday without having fallen."** The honest lecturer had to pay for his love of truth by being socially ostracised by the offended officers. Reverend Dr. Wagner had a similar experience when he ventured to say some disagreeable truths to the landed proprietors in his book on "Morality in the Country."*

The majority of prostitutes are driven into their unfortunate trade at an age at which they cannot be regarded as competent to judge their actions. Among the women who secretly prostituted themselves arrested in

*At the conference of the purity societies on September 20, 1894, at the instance of Dr. Wagner an investigation was decided upon. The results of this investigation have been published in two volumes, entitled: The Sexual Morality of Protestant Country People in the German Empire, 1895-1896.

Paris from 1878 until 1887, 12,615 equal 46.7 per cent. were minors. Of those arrested from 1888-1898, 14,072 equal 48.8 per cent. were minors. Le Pilleurs gives the following resumé of the prostitutes of Paris, which is as concise as it is pathetic: "Defloured at 16, prostituted at 17, afflicted with syphilis at 18."* Among 846 newly enrolled prostitutes in Berlin in 1898 there were 229 minors. There were:

7 at the age of 15	59 at the age of 18
21 " " " " 16	49 " " " " 19
33 " " " " 17	66 " " " " 20**

In September, 1894, a scandalous affair was revealed in Budapest, where it became known that about 400 girls not more than fifteen years of age had become the victims of rich libertines. The sons of our "propertied and cultured classes" not infrequently consider it their right to seduce the daughters of the poor and then to forsake them. These confiding, inexperienced daughters of the poor, whose lives are often devoid of all joy and who sometimes have no friend or relative to protect them, easily fall victims to the art of the seducer, who approaches them with all the temptations of pleasure and affection. Bitter disappointments and despair and eventually crime are the results. Among 2,060,973 children born in Germany in 1907 179,178 were illegitimate. One can imagine the amount of care and heart-ache that the births of these illegitimate children mean to their mothers, even if some of them are legally married later on by the fathers of their children. **Infanticide and the suicide of women are in a great many cases caused by the misery and need of forsaken women.** The trials for infanticide present a sombre but instructive picture. In the fall of 1894 a young woman was on trial in Krems, Austria. Eight days after her confinement she had been discharged from the lying-in hospital in Vienna, with her infant and penniless, and being desperate she had

*Prof. S. Bettman—Medical Supervision of Prostitutes. Handbook of the social science of medicine, Jena, 1905.

**Ibid.

killed her child. **She was condemned to death.** In the spring of 1899 the following was reported from the province of Posen: "On Monday last the 22-year-old working girl, Katherine Gorbacki, from Alexanderruh, near Neustadt was on trial for murder. During the years 1897 and 1898 the defendant had been employed by the Provost Merkel in Neustadt. As a result of intimate relations with her employer, she gave birth to a daughter in June last. The child was placed with her relatives. The provost paid $2 for the child's board during each of the first two months, but then refused to meet any further expenses. As the girl could not meet the expenses for the child's maintenance, she decided to do away with it. On a Sunday during September last she smothered the child with a pillow. The jury convicted her of murder in the second degree and admitted extenuating circumstances. The public prosecutor moved to inflict the maximum penalty, five years imprisonment. The judge sentenced her to three years in prison."

Thus the seduced and forsaken woman, disgraced and desperate, is driven to the utmost, and kills her own offspring. Then she is brought to trial and is sentenced to long periods of imprisonment, or even to death. But the real unscrupulous murderer is allowed to go unpunished. Perhaps shortly after the tragedy he will marry a girl from some good and righteous family, and will become a highly honored and pious man. Many a man is held in great esteem who thus polluted his honor and his conscience. **If women had a voice in the making and administration of the laws things would be different.** Evidently many cases of infanticide are never discovered. In July, 1899, in Frankenthal on the Rhine a servant girl was accused of having drowned her new-born, illegitimate child in the Rhine. The public prosecutor asked all police departments along the Rhine from Ludwigshafen to the boundary of Holland to report whether within a definite time the body of a child had been washed ashore. The surprising result of this inquest was, that the police departments within the stated time reported no less than 38 bodies of infants that had been fished from the Rhine, but whose mothers had not been found.

The most cruel system is resorted to, as previously stated, by the French legislation, which forbids to seek the father, but instead maintains foundling hospitals. The law framed at the convention of June 28, 1793, reads: "La nation se charge de l'éducation physique et morale des enfants abandonnés. Désormais, ils seront designés sous le seul nom d'orphelins. Aucunne autre qualification ne sera permis" (The nation undertakes the physical and moral education of abandoned children. Henceforward they will be known only by the name of orphans. No other designation will be permitted.). That was a very convenient method to men, for thereby they could turn over their individual obligations to the community and were spared from being publicly exposed. National orphan and foundling asylums were erected. In 1833 the number of orphans and foundlings amounted to 130,945. It was estimated that every tenth child was a legitimate one that its parents wished to get rid of. As these children were not properly cared for, their mortality was very great. At that time 59 per cent. died during the first year; up to the twelfth year 78 per cent. died; so only 22 from 100 children attained the twelfth year. At the beginning of the sixties of the last century there were 175 foundling asylums; in 1861 there were admitted into these 42,934 enfants trouvés (foundlings) 26,156 enfants abandonnés (abandoned children) and 9,716 orphans; together this made 78,066 children who were maintained at public expense. All in all the number of abandoned children has not decreased during recent decades.

Foundling asylums maintained by the state were also established in Austria and Italy. "Ici on fait mourir les enfants" (here children are made to die); a monarch is said to have suggested these words as a suitable inscription for foundling asylums. In Austria the foundling asylums are gradually disappearing. At present only eight remain, but at the close of the nineties of the last century these still contained over 9,000 children, while more than 30,000 children were placed outside of the asylums. During recent years the number of foundlings has greatly decreased, for in 1888 there still were 40,865

children who were public charges in Austria; 10,466 were in asylums; 30,399 were placed in private care. Their maintenance cost 1,817,372 florins. Mortality was not as great among the children placed in asylums as among those privately cared for; this was especially so in the province of Galicia. Here, during the year 1888 31.25 per cent. died in asylums—far more than in the asylums of other countries; but of those who were privately cared for 84.21 per cent. died; a wholesale butchery. It seems as if Polish mismanagement endeavored to kill off these poor, little creatures as quickly as possible.

In Italy 118,531 children were admitted into asylums from 1894 to 1896. Annual average: 29,633; boys: 58,-901; girls: 59,630, illegitimate, 113,141; legitimate, 5,390 (only 5 per cent.). How great the mortality has been may be seen from the following table.*

	1890-1892	1893-1896	1897
Number of children admitted	91,549	109,899	26,661
Died during first year	34,186	41,386	9,711
Percentage	37.3	37.6	36.4
Mortality of illegitimate children in Italy	25.0	27.2	23.4
Mortality of legitimate children	18.0	17.5	15.9

The record was broken by the foundling asylum Santa Cosa dell' Annunziata in Naples, where in 1896 of 853 infants 850 died. In the year 1907 the foundling asylums admitted 18,896 children. During the years 1902 to 1906 the mortality of these unfortunate little ones was 37.5 per cent; that means that more than one-third of the children maintained by the state die during the first year.** It is a generally known fact, that the rate of mortality is always higher among illegitimate children than among legitimate ones. According to Prusian sta-

*S. Turcranji and S. Engel. The Foundling System in Italy. Quarterly journal of public hygiene, 1903.

**Encyclopedia of Social Science; 3d edition, vol. iv., 1909. Article: Foundling Asylums.

tistics the following number of deaths of infants occurred for every 10,000 births.

		1881-1885	1886-1890	1891-1895	1896-1900	1904
Legitimate	City....	211	210	203	195	179
	Country	186	187	187	185	172
Illegitimate	City....	398	395	385	374	333
	Country	319	332	336	336	306

"It is a striking fact which clearly shows the connection between prostitution and the unfortunate condition of servant girls and menials employed in the country, that of 94,779 illegitimate children born in 1906, 21,164 were the children of servant girls and 18,869 were the children of girls otherwise employed in the country. Together this made 40,033 or 42 per cent. If servants employed in the country and female farm hands are taken together, they constitute 30 per cent., while girls industrially employed constitute 14 per cent (13,460)."*

The difference in the rate of mortality between legitimate and illegitimate children is especially marked during the first month, when the mortality of illegitimate children is on an average **three times as great** as that of legitimate children. Lack of care during pregnancy and during the confinement and improper care of the child after birth are the simple causes of this great mortality of illegitimate children. Ill treatment and neglect help to increase the number of the victims. The number of still-born children is greater among the illegitimate than among the legitimate also. This is probably chiefly due to attempts on the part of the mother to bring about the death of the child during pregnancy.

To this must be added the cases of infanticide that are not found out because the murdered child is counted among the still-born. Bertillion claims, that to the 205 cases of infanticide recorded in the legal documents of France, should be added at least 1,500 alleged still-births and 1,400 cases of intentional killing by starvation.**

The following table shows the number of legitimate

*Encyclopedia of Social Science, 1909.

**Schnapper Arndt.

and illegitimate children in various European countries for every 100 still-births.

	During the years	Legitimate	Illegitimate
Germany	1891—1900	3.15	4.25
Prussia	1900—1902	3.02	4.41
Saxony	1891—1900	3.31	4.24
Bavaria	1891—1900	2.98	3.61
Wurtemberg	1891—1900	3.30	3.48
Baden	1891—1900	2.62	3.35
Austria	1895—1900	2.64	3.86
Switzerland	1897—1903	3.40	6.14
France	1891—1895	4.40	7.54
Netherlands	1891—1900	4.38	8.13
Denmark	1893—1894	2.40	3.20
Sweden	1891—1895	2.46	3.30
Norway	1891—1900	2.47	4.06
Finland	1891—1900	2.54	4.43
Italy	1891—1896	3.89	5.16*

The survivors revenge themselves on society for the ill-treatment accorded them by furnishing an **unusually high** percentage of the criminals of all grades.

5. Crimes Against Morality and Sexual Diseases.

We must still briefly dwell upon another evil that is often met with. An excess of sexual enjoyment is far more harmful than the want of same. An organism abused by excesses is eventually destroyed. Impotence, sterility, idiocy, feeble mindedness and other diseases result. Temperance in sexual intercourse is as necessary as temperance in eating and drinking, and other human requirements. But young men living in luxury seem to find it very difficult to be temperate. Therefore we often find senility among young men of the upper classes. The number of old and young roués is large, and because they are satiated and dulled by excesses, they require special stimulants. Beside those in whom love for their own sex (sodomy) is innate, there are many who succumb to this perversity of the Greek age. Sodomy is

*F. Prinzing—The Causes of Still-Births. General records of statistics, 1907.

far more widespread than most of us imagine; the secret documents of many police departments might reveal apalling facts.* Among the women, too, the perversities of ancient Greece have been revived. Lesbian, or Sapphic love is, so Taxel claims, prevalent to an enormous degree among the fashionable ladies of Paris. In Berlin about a quarter of the prostitutes indulge in this perverse passion and it is not unknown among the fashionable women, either.

Another unnatural satisfaction of the sexual desire are the criminal assaults upon children that have greatly increased during the last decades. The following numbers of persons were convicted of crimes against morality in Germany: In 1895, 10,239; in 1905, 13,432; in 1906, 13,557. Among those were 58 persons in 1902 and 72 in 1907, who were convicted of criminal assaults upon children. The following number was convicted of fornication with persons under fourteen: In 1902, 4,090; in 1906, 4,548; in 1907, 4,397;. In Italy the number of crimes against morality was: 1887 to 1889, 4,590; 1903, 8,461; which is 19.44 per cent. and 25.67 per cent. for every 100,000 inhabitants. The same fact has been observed in Austria. Very correctly H. Herz says: "The rapid increase in crimes against morality during the period 1880-1890 shows that the present economic structure with its decrease in the marriage rate and its instability of employment is in no small degree the cause of the low standard of morality."**

In Germany members of the learned professions furnish about 5.6 per cent of the criminals; but they furnish about 13 per cent. of those convicted of criminal assaults upon children. This percentage would be higher still if members of those circles would not have ample means to conceal their crimes. The terrifying revelations made by the "Pall Mall Gazette" at the close of the eighties of the

*The trials of Moltke, Lynar and Eulenburg have since revealed a more revolting picture than one could suspect. They have shown how widespread is this perversity among the higher strata of society, especially among military men and in court circles.

**Dr. Hugo Herz—Crimes and Criminals in Austria, Tuebingen, 1908.

last century concerning the criminal abuses of children in England, have shown the widespread existence of frightful conditions.

Concerning venereal diseases and their increase, the following table, showing the number of cases treated in German hospitals, contains valuable information:

	Gonorrhoea	Syphilis.		Gonorrhoea	Syphilis
1877-1879	23,344	67,750	1892-1894	50,541	78,093
1880-1882	28,700	79,220	1895-1897	53,587	74,092
1883-1885	30,038	65,980	1898-1901	83,374	101,225
1886-1888	32,275	53,664	1902-1904	68,350	76,678
1889-1891	41,381	60,793			

If we take the average annual number of persons afflicted we find that within a period of 25 years the cases of gonorrhoea have increased from 7,781 to 22,750 and those of syphilis from 22,583 to 25,559. The population has increased only by 25 per cent. while the cases of gonorrhoea have in creased by 182 per cent and those of syphilis 19 per cent! We have another statistic that does not cover many years, but just one single day which shows how many patients afflicted with venereal diseases were under medical treatment on April 30, 1900. The Prusian minister of public instruction has caused this investigation to be made. A list of questions was sent to every physician in Prussia. Although only 63.5 per cent. of these replied, the investigation showed that on April 30, 1900, there were about 41,000 persons in Prusia afflicted with venereal diseases. 11,000 were newly infected with syphilis. In Berlin alone there were on this day 11,600 persons afflicted with venereal diseases, among them 3,000 fresh cases of syphilis. For every 100,000 adult inhabitants, the following number were under medical treatment for venereal diseases.

	Men.	Women.
In Berlin	1419	457
" 17 cities having more than 100,000 inhabitants	999	457
" 42 cities having 30,000 to 100,000	584	176
" 47 cities having less than 30,000	450	169
" other cities and rural communities	80	27
In the entire German Empire	282	92

The cities mainly afflicted are those situated at harbors, college and garrison towns and large industrial centers (In Koenigsberg for every 100,000 inhabitants, 2,152 men and 619 women are diseased; in Cologne 1309 men and 402 women; in Frankfort 1,505 men and 399 women).

Of Berlin Dr. Blaschko says: "In a large city like Berlin annually of 1,000 young men between 20 and 30 years, almost 200, abo t one-fifth, become diseased with gonorrheoa and about 24 with syphilis. But the time during which young men are exposed to venereal infection is much longer than one year. For some it is five years, for others ten years and more. After five years of unmaried life then a young man will become diseased with gonorrhoea once and twice in ten years. After five years every tenth young man, after eight to ten years every fifth young man would acquire syphilis. In other words, of the men who marry after their thirtieth year every one would have had gonorrhoea twice, and every fourth or fifth one would be inflicted with syphilis. These figures have been compiled by careful calculation, and to us physicians who learn of so many misfortunes that are concealed from the eyes of the world, they do not appear exaggerated."

The results of the research of April 30, 1900, are confirmed by a careful study of this problem in connection with the Prussian army compiled in 1907 by the surgeon-major, Dr. Schwiening.* It was shown that the various divisions of the army annually show about the same number of recruits afflicted with venereal diseases. Some divisions have a particularly large number of cases, especially the division recruited from the province of Brandenburg. Berlin is mainly to blame that 2 per cent. of these recruits are diseased. Dr. Schwiening's compilation of the percentage of diseased recruits from the various government districts clearly shows the extension of venereal diseases among civilians. Of 1,000 enrolled recruits the following number was afflicted:

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* Director general of the army medical department, Dr. Chumburg, The Venereal Diseases, Their Nature and Dissemination.

	1903	1904	1905
Berlin	40.9	37.2	45.2
27 cities having more than 100,000 inhabitants	14.9	16.7	15.8
26 cities having 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	11.6	9.6	9.5
33 cities having 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants	8.2	6.8	9.1
Cities having less than 25,000 inhabitants and rural communities	4.3	5.0	4.0
State	7.6	8.1	7.8

The greatest number of diseased recruits came from Shoeneberg, having 58.4 for every 1,000 enrolled. In large cities outside of Prussia, the following numbers were recorded: Hamburg, 29.8; Leipsic, 29.4; Dresden, 19; Chemnitz, 17.8; Munich, 16.4. According to G. v. Mayer the increase of venereal diseases for every 1,000 inhabitants from 1903 to 1904 was: Prussia, 19.6; Austria and Hungary, 60.3; France, 27.1; Italy, 85.2; England, 125; Belgium, 28.3; the Netherlands 31.4; Rusia, 40.5; Denmark, 45. The increase in venereal diseases is especially great in the navy. In the German navy from 1905 to 1906 the number of cases were: On ship-board abroad, 113.6 per thousand; in domestic waters, 58.8; on land, 57.8. In the English navy there were in 1905 121,55 cases and in 1906 121,94 cases.

We have seen that our social conditions have produced all sorts of vices, excesses and crimes that are constantly increasing. The whole social organism is in a state of unrest by which the women are most deeply affected. Women are beginning to realize this more and more and to seek redress. They demand in the first place economic independence. They demand that women, like men, should be admitted to all trades and professions according to their strength and ability. They especially demand the right to practice learned professions. Are these endeavors justified? Can their aims be realized? Will they bring relief? These are the questions we must seek to answer.

CHAPTER XIII.

WOMAN IN INDUSTRY.

1. Development and Extension of Female Labor.

The endeavor of women to earn their own living and to attain personal independence is, to some extent at least, regarded as a just one by bourgeois society. The bourgeoisie requires an unhampered release of male and female labor power in order that industry may attain its highest degree of development. The perfection of machinery and the division of labor, whereby each single function in the process of production requires less strength and mechanical training than formerly, and the growing competition, not only between individual manufacturers, but also between entire manufacturing regions, states and countries—causes the labor power of woman to be sought more and more.

The special causes which lead to an increased employment of female labor in a growing number of trades have been set forth in a previous chapter. One reason why employers resort more and more to the employment of women beside men, or instead of men, is, that women are accustomed to require less than men. Owing to their nature as sex beings, women are obliged to offer their labor power cheaper than men. They are, as a rule, more subjected to physical derangements that cause an interruption of their work, and owing to the complication and organization of modern industry, this may lead to an interruption in the whole process of production. Pregnancy and child-birth lengthen such periods of interruption.* The employer makes the most of this fact and

*A number of lists from sick-benefit funds, compiled by the factory inspector Schuler, showed that female members were ill 7.17 days annually, while male members were ill only 4.78 days annually. The duration of each illness was 24.8 for female members and 21.2 for male members. O. Schwartz, The results of the employment of married women in factories from the standpoint of public hygiene. — German quarterly gazette for public hygiene.

finds **ample indemnification for these occasional interruptions by the payment of considerably lower wages.** Moreover the woman is tied to her particular abode or its immediate environment. She cannot change her abode as men are enabled to do in most cases. Female labor, especially the labor of married women workers, appears particularly desirable to employers in still another way, as may be seen from the quotation from "Capital," by Karl Marx on page 129. As a worker the married woman is "far more attentive and docile" than the unmarried one. Consideration for her children compels her to exert her strength to the utmost in order to earn what is needful for their livelihood, and she therefore quietly submits to much that the unmarried working woman would not submit to, far less so the working man. As a rule working women rarely combine with their fellow workers to obtain better working conditions. That also enhances their value in the eyes of the employers; sometimes they even are a good means to subdue rebellious male workers. Women moreover are more patient, they possess greater nimbleness and a more developed taste, qualities that make them better suited to many kinds of work than men.

These womanly virtues the virtuous capitalist appreciates fully; and so, with the development of industry, the field of woman's work is extended each year, but—and this is the decisive factor—**without materially improving her social condition.** Where female labor power is employed, it frequently releases male labor power. But the displaced male workers must earn their living; so they offer their labor power at lower wages, and this offer again depresses the wages of the female workers. The depression of wages becomes a screw set in motion by the constantly revolving process of developing industry, and as this process of revolution by labor-saving devices also releases female workers, the supply of "hands" is increased still more. New branches of industry counteract this constant production of surplus labor power, but not sufficiently to create better conditions of labor. In the new branches of industry

also, as for instance in the electrical, male workers are being displaced by female workers. In the motor factory of the General Electric Company most of the machines are tended by girls. Every increase in wages above a certain standard causes the employer to seek further improvement of his machinery, and to put the automatic machine in the place of human hands and human brains. In the beginning of the capitalistic era only male workers competed with one another on the labor market. Now sex is arrayed against sex, and age against age. Women displace men, and women in turn are displaced by young people and children. That is the "moral regime" of modern industry.

This state of affairs would eventually become unbearable if the workers, by organization in their trade unions, would not counteract it with all their might. To the working woman, too, it is becoming a sheer necessity to join these industrial organizations, for as an individual she has still far less power of resistance than the working man. Working women are beginning to recognize this necessity. In Germany the following numbers were organized: in 1892, 4,355; in 1899, 19,280; in 1900, 22,884; in 1905, 74,411; in 1907, 136,929; in 1908, 138,443. In 1892 women constituted only 1.8 per cent. of all members of trade unions; in 1908 they constituted 7.6 per cent. According to the fifth international report of the trade union movement the numbers of female members were in Great Britain, 201,709; in France, 88,906; in Austria, 46,401.

The endeavors of employers to lengthen the work day in order to extract larger profits from their workers is met with little resistance by women workers. That explains why in the textile industry, for instance, in which more than half of the workers are women the work day is longest. It was necessary therefore that government protection by limiting the hours of work should begin with this industry. Women being accustomed to an endless work day by their domestic activity, submit to the increased demands upon their labor power without offering resistance.

PERSONS EMPLOYED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS.

COUNTRIES	Year of Census	Entire Population			Gainfully employed			Persons gainfully employed in percentage of population		
		Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
German Empire.	1907	30,461,100	31,259,429	61,720,529	18,599,236	9,492,881	28,092,117	61 1	30.4	45.5
Austria	1900	12,852,693	13,298,015	26,150,708	8,257,294	5,850,158	14,107,452	64.2	44.0	53.9
Hungary.....	1900	9,582,152	9,672,407	19,254,559	6,162,298	2,668,697	8,830,995	64.3	27.6	45.9
Russia	1897	62,477,348	63,162,673	125,640,021	25,995,237	5,276,112	31,271,349	41.6	8.4	24.9
Italy.....	1901	16,155,130	16,320,123	32,475,253	10,988,462	5,284,064	16,272,526	68.0	32.4	50.1
Switzerland	1900	1,627,025	1,688,418	3,315,443	1,057,187	498,760	1,556,577	65.0	29.5	46.9
France.....	1901	18,916,889	19,533,899	38,450,788	12,910,565	6,804,510	19,715,075	68.2	34.8	51.3
Belgium	1900	3,324,834	3,368,714	6,693,548	2,123,072	948,229	3,071,301	63.8	28.1	45.9
Netherlands.....	1899	2,520,603	2,583,535	5,104,138	1,497,159	433,548	1,930,707	59.4	16.8	37.8
Denmark	1901	1,193,448	1,256,092	2,449,540	752,559	353,980	1,106,539	63.1	28.2	45.2
Sweden	1900	2,506,436	2,630,005	5,136,441	1,422,979	551,021	1,974,000	56.8	21.0	38.4
Norway.....	1900	1,066,693	1,154,784	2,221,477	599,057	277,613	876,670	56.1	24.0	39.5
England and Wales	1901	15,728,613	16,799,230	32,527,843	10,156,976	4,171,751	14,328,727	64.6	24.8	44.1
Scotland.....	1901	2,173,755	2,298,348	4,472,103	1,391,188	591,624	1,982,812	64.0	25.8	44.3
Ireland	1901	2,200,040	2,258,735	4,458,775	1,413,943	549,874	1,963,817	64.3	24.3	44.0
Great Britain and Ireland...	1901	20,102,408	21,356,313	41,458,721	12,962,107	5,313,249	18,275,356	64.5	24.9	44.1
United States of America....	1900	39,059,242	37,244,145	76,303,387	23,956,115	5,329,807	29,285,922	61.3	14.3	38.4

*These figures include 91,219 persons of the army and navy who were absent from the country while the census was taken.

In other trades, such as millinery, manufacture of artificial flowers, etc.,* they reduce their own wages and lengthen their own work day by taking home extra work. They frequently do not even notice that thereby they become their own competitors and do not earn more in a sixteen hour day than they might in a well regulated ten-hour day.

The table on page 212 shows to what extent female labor has grown among various civilized nations, both in relation to the other sex and in relation to the entire population. Our table shows that the number of women employed in gainful occupations constitutes a considerable percentage of the entire population. The percentage is largest in Austria, France and Italy. This may be partly due to the manner of census-taking, as not only those female persons are counted, whose principal occupation is a gainful employment, but also those who perform incidental work for wages. The percentage is lowest in the United States. It is also important to compare the growth of the laboring population with former periods. Let us begin with Germany:

Years in which census was taken	Entire Population		Persons gainfully employed		Persons gainfully employed in percentage of population		Of 100 person gainfully employed	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1882	22,150,749	23,071,364	13,415,415	5,541,517	60.57	24.02	71.24	28.76
1895	25,409,161	26,361,123	15,531,841	6,578,350	61.13	24.96	70.25	29.75
1907	30,461,100	31,159,429	18,599,236	9,492,881	61.06	30.37	66.21	33.79

This table shows firstly, that the number of persons gainfully employed increases more rapidly than the population; secondly, that the growth of female labor still exceeds this increase; thirdly, that the male laboring population is relatively stationary, while the female

*"This is especially the case in the clothing trade, but also in other industries such as the manufacture of toys, underwear, cigarettes, paper goods etc." R. Wilbrandt — Protection of working women and domestic industry.—Jena 1906.

**Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.—H. Zahn, Statistics of professions and trades.

laboring population shows a relative and absolute growth, and lastly, that female labor at an increasing rate displaces male labor. The number of persons gainfully employed has increased from 1882 to 1895 by 16.6 per cent.; the number of men, by 15.8 per cent. and 19.35 per cent.; the number of women by 18.7 per cent. from 1882 to 1895, and by 44.44 per cent. from 1895 to 1907. The increase of the population from 1882 to 1895 was only 19.8 per cent., and from 1895 to 1907 only 19.34 per cent. So the entire number of persons gainfully employed has increased; but as the growth of the number of men gainfully employed has approximately kept pace with the growth of the population, the number of women gainfully employed has grown mostly. This shows that the struggle for existence requires greater efforts than formerly.

From 1882 to 1895 and from 1895 to 1907 we find the following increase (+) and decrease (—) among the population of Germany:

From 1882 to 1895	From 1895 to 1907
Female persons gainfully employed	
+ 1,005,290 = 23.60 per cent	+ 2,979,105 = 56.59 per cent
Male persons gainfully employed	
+ 2,133,577 = 15.95 per cent	+ 3,077,382 = 19.85 per cent
Female servants	
+ 31,543 = 2.46 per cent	— 64,574 = 4.91 per cent
Male servants	
— 17,151 = 40.35 per cent	— 9,987 = 39.38 per cent

The following table shows the number of persons gainfully employed in various trades:

	1882		1895		1907	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture, Forestry	5,701,587	2,534,009	5,539,538	2,753,154	5,284,271	4,598,986
Industry and Mining	5,269,489	1,126,976	6,760,102	1,521,118	9,152,330	2,103,924
Commerce and Traffic	1,272,208	298,110	1,758,903	579,608	2,546,253	931,373
Various kinds of wage labor	213,746	183,836	198,626	233,865	150,791	320,904
Public service and learned professions	373,593	115,272	618,335	176,648	799,025	288,311
Army and Navy . . .	542,282	—	630,978	—	651,194	—

The following table shows the increase and decrease in various trades:

	From 1882 to 1895				From 1895 to 1907			
	Female	%	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%
Agriculture and Forestry	+ 218,245	8.60	+ 162,049	2.80	+1,845,832	67.04	— 255,267	4.61
Industry and Mining	+ 394,142	35.00	+1,490,613	28.30	+ 582,806	38.31	+2,392,228	35.39
Commerce and Traffic	+ 281,498	98.40	+ 486,695	38.30	+ 351,765	60.69	+ 787,350	44.76
Various kinds of wage labor	+ 50,029	27.20	— 15,120	7.10	+ 87,039	37.22	— 47,835	24.08
Public service and learned professions	+ 61,376	53.25	+ 154,285	33.25	+ 111,663	—	+ 180,6.0	—
Army and Navy	—	—	+ 17 ,153	39.65	—	—	+ 20,216	—
Total	+1,005,290	23.60	+2,133,577	15.90	+2,979,105	—	+3,077,382	—

Among the persons gainfully employed there were:

	1895				1907			
	Female	%	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%
Indepent	1,069,007	22.1	4,405,039	31.3	1,052,165	—	4,438,123	—
Employees	39,418	0.81	582,407	4.1	159,889	—	1,130,839	—
Laborers, etc., excl. servants	3,745,455	77.09	9,071,097	64.6	6,422,229	—	11,413,892	—
Total	4,853,880=100.00		14,058,543=100.00		7,634,283=100.00		16,982,854=100.00	

The following shows the increase and decrease of women holding **independent** positions from 1895 to 1907:

Industry (domestic industry)	477,290	519,492 — 42,202 =	8.10
Commerce and traffic	246,641	202,616 + 44,025 =	21,77
Agriculture	328,237	346,896 — 18,659 =	9.04

The greatest number of female persons were employed in the following trades:

	1907.	1895.
Agriculture	4,585,749	2,745,840
Clothing and cleaning	883,184	713,021
Commercial lines	545,177	299,829
Textile industry	528,235	427,961
Restaurants and cafés	339,555	261,450
Articles of food and luxury	248,962	140,333
Metal works	73,039	36,210
Stone and pottery	72,270	39,555
Paper industry	67,322	39,222
Wood and carving industry	48,028	30,346

The following are the trades in which more women than men are employed in Germany:

	Women.	Men.
Agriculture	4,217,132	2,737,768
Textile industry	466,210	390,312
Clothing trades	403,879	303,264
Cleaning trades	85,684	58,035
Restaurants and cafés	266,930	139,002
Domestic service	279,208	36,791
Nursing	129,197	78,520

These figures clearly show us the prevailing state of affairs in Germany. Although the number of persons gainfully employed has increased more rapidly than the population, the growth of female labor still exceeds this increase. The employment of women is rapidly growing in all lines of industry. While the male laboring population is relatively stationary, the female laboring population shows a relative and absolute growth. In fact the increase in female labor constitutes the chief portion of the general increase of persons gainfully employed in the entire population. The number of female members of families supported by men rank from 70.81 per cent. in 1895 to 63.90 per cent. in 1907. Woman has become such a powerful factor in industry that the Philistine saying, the woman's place is in the home, seems utterly void and ridiculous. In England the following numbers of persons were industrially employed:

	Total	Male	Female	For every 100 persons gainfully employed: Male	Fem.
1871	11,593,466	8,270,186	3,323,280	—	—
1881	11,187,564	7,783,646	3,403,918	69.59	30.41
1891	12,751,995	8,883,254	4,016,230	68.09	31.91
1901	14,328,727	10,156,976	4,171,751	70.09	29.91

Within thirty years the number of men gainfully employed increased by 1,886,790 persons = 22.8 per cent.; the number of women gainfully employed increased by 848,471 = 25.5 per cent. It is especially noteworthy that during 1881, the year of a crisis, the number of men emparent one, since most of the wives and daughters of

number of women employed increased by 80,638. The relative decrease of female labor in 1901 is only an apparent one, since most of the wives and daughters of farmers are now counted as having no profession. Besides, during the last twenty years those industries have grown mostly in which male labor is chiefly employed, while the textile industry has relatively, and since 1891, positively declined.

	1881		Percentage of increase	Female workers among these
Stone and pottery industry..	582,474	805,185	53	5,006
Metal works and manufacfacture of machinery..	812,915	1,228,504	52	61,233
Building trades.....	764,911	1,128,680	47	2,485
Textile trades.....	1,094,636	1,155,397	5	663,222

Nevertheless female labor has again increased at the expense of male labor. Only the share in increase of female labor that was 12.6 per cent. from 1851 to 1861 and 7.6 per cent. from 1871 to 1881 was reduced to 1.8 per cent. from 1891 to 1901. In the year 1907 the following numbers were counted in the textile industry: 407,360 men = 36.6 per cent. and 679,863 women = 63.4 per cent. In the clothing trades and in commerce female labor has increased much more. But it is furthermore seen that older women are displaced by younger ones, and as women under 25 are mostly unmarried and the older ones are mostly married, or widowed, it is seen that women are displaced by girls.

The following are trades in which more women than men are employed in England:

	Women	Men
Domestic service.....	1,690,686	124,263
Clothing trades.....	711,786	414,637
Textile trades.....	663,222	492,175
Among these cotton.....	328,793	193,830
wool and yarn.....	153,311	106,598
hemp and jute.....	104,587	45,732
silk	22,589	8,966
embroidery	28,962	9,587

In almost all the branches women receive considerable less pay than men for the same amount of work. A recent

inquiry showed that the average weekly wage in the textile industry was 28 shillings 1 penny for men, and only 15 shillings 5 pence for women.* In the bicycle industry where female labor has rapidly increased as a result of the introduction of machinery, women receive only from 12 to 18 shillings per week, where men received from 30 to 40 shillings.* The same conditions are met with in the manufacture of paper goods and shoes and in binderies. Women are paid especially low wages for the manufacture of underwear; 10 shillings per week is considered a goed wage. "As a rule a woman earns half or one-third of a man's wage."** A similar difference in remuneration between men and women is met with in the postal service and in teaching. Only in the cotton industry in Lancashire both sexes working an equal length of time earned almost equal wages.

In the United States we find the following development of female labor:

	1880		1890		1900	
Agriculture	594,510		678,884		977,336	
Learned professions	177,255		311,687		430,597	
Domestic and personal service	1,181,300		1,667,651		2,095,449	
Commerce and transportation	63,058		228,421		503,347	
Manufacture	631,034		1,027,928		1,312,668	
		%		%		%
Total, women	2,647,157	14.7	3,914,571	17.4	5,319,397	18.8
" men	14,774,942	85.3	18,821,090	82.6	23,753,836	81.2
	17,422,099	100	22,735,661	100	29,073,233	100

Here we see that the number of women gainfully employed has grown from 3,914,571 in 1890 to 5,319,397 in 1900. It has increased more rapidly than the population which increased from 62,622,250 persons in 1890 to 76,303,387 in 1900; only by 21 per cent. In the same inexorable way the number of employed men is decreasing, since they are being displaced by women. Now for 100 persons gainfully employed there are 18.8 women, while

* Textile Trades in 1906. London, 1909.

** E. Cadbury ,C. Matheson and C. Shaun—Women's work and wages. London, 1906.

† E. Cadbury and F. Shaun—Sweating. London. 1907.

in 1880 there were not more than 14.7 per cent. Of 312 occupations there are only 9 in which no women are employed. According to the census of 1900, we even find among them 5 pilots, 45 engineers and firemen, 185 blacksmiths, 508 machinists, 11 well-borers, 8 boilermakers. "Of course these figures are not of great sociological importance, but they show that there are very few occupations from which women are absolutely excluded, either by their natural capacity or by law.* Women are especially numerous in the following occupations: Servants and waitresses, 1,213,828; dressmaking, 338,144; farm labor, 497,886; laundresses, 332,665; teachers, 327,905; independent farmers, 307,788; textile workers, 231,458; housekeepers, 147,103; salesladies, 146,265; seamstresses, 138,724; nurses and midwives, 108,691; unqualified trades, 106,916. In these 12 occupations 3,583,333 = 74.1 per cent. of all bread-earning women have been counted. Besides there are 85,086 stenographers; 82,936 milliners; 81,000 clerks; 72,896 bookkeepers, etc., together 19 occupations, comprising over 50,000 women = 88.8 per cent. of all women breadwinners. Women predominate in the following trades:

	For every 100 persons employed.			
Manufacture of underwear	Women	99.4	Men	0.6
Millinery	"	98.0	"	0.6
Dressmaking	"	96.8	"	3.2
Manufacture of collars	"	77.6	"	22.4
Weaving	"	72.8	"	27.2
Manufacture of gloves	"	62.6	"	37.4
Bookbinding	"	50.5	"	49.5
Textile trades	"	50.0	"	50.0
Housekeeping	"	94.7	"	5.3
Nursing	"	89.9	"	10.1
Laundry work	"	86.8	"	13.2
Domestic service	"	81.9	"	18.1
Boarding	"	83.4	"	16.6
Stenographers	"	76.7	"	23.3
Teachers	"	73.4	"	26.6
Music teachers	"	56.9	"	43.1

* Statistics of women at work. Washington, 1908.

Of 4,833,630 women employed in gainful occupations aged 16 years and more, 3,143,712 were single, 769,477 were married, 857,005 were widowed, 63,436 were divorced. The American report says: "The increase in the percentage of persons gainfully employed was greatest for the married women, since it was by one-fourth greater in 1900 than in 1890. In 1890 there was only one married working woman among 22; in 1900 there was one among 18." The number of widowed and divorced women is very great, both relatively and actually. In 1900 among 2,721,438 widowed women 857,005 = 31.5 were earning their living, and among divorced women the percentage was still greater. Of 114,935, of these 49 per cent. were earning their own living in 1890 and 55.3 per cent. in 1900. Thus more women became self-supporting each year. Among the 303 occupations in which women are employed there are:

79	with	less	than		100	women
59	"	"	"	100 to	500	"
31	"	"	"	500 to	1000	"
125	"	more	"		1000	"
63	"	"	"		5000	"

Among 100 persons from 16 years up we find the following wage-scale:

Men		Women	
Less than 7 dollars..	18	Less than 7 dollars.	66.3
7 to 9 dollars..	15.4	7 to 9 dollars..	19.6
9 to 20 dollars..	60.6	9 to 15 dollars..	13.2
20 to 25 dollars..	4.8	15 to 20 dollars..	0.8
More than 25 dollars..	2	20 to 25 dollars..	0.1
Average weekly wage	$11.16		$6.17

We see that 60.6 per cent. of the men earn more than $9, while only 13.2 per cent. of the women earn more than $9, and more than two-thirds (66.3 per cent.) earn less than $7.* The average weekly wage for men is $11.16; the average weekly wage for women $6.17, almost half of the man's wages. Among government employes the difference is equally great. Among 185,874 persons engaged in civil service there were 172,053 men = 92.6

*Earnings of wage-earners. Bulletin 93, page 11. Washington, 1908.

per cent., and 13,821 women—7.4 per cent. In the District of Columbia, the seat of the national administration, the percentage of female labor amounts to 29 per cent. And yet 47.2 per cent. of the women earn less than $720, while only 16.7 per cent. of the men earn less than $720.*

In France, according to the census of 1901, the laboring population amounted to 19,715,075 persons, 12,910,565 men and 6,804,510 women. They are distributed among various trades as follows:

	Men.	Per Cent.	Women.	Per Cent.
Agriculture	5,517,617	72	2,658,952	28
Commerce	1,132,621	65	689,999	35
Dom'tic service.	223,861	23	791,176	77
Learned prof...	226,561	67	173,278	33
Industry	3,695,213	63.5	2,124,642	36.5

"The female laboring population amounts to one-half of the male laboring population."** As in all other countries, fewest women are employed at those occupations that require greatest physical strength (In mining 2.03 women for 100 men; in quarries 1.65 in metallurgy, 1.06). The greatest number of women are employed in the textile trades, 116 women for 100 men—in the clothing trades, in laundries, 1,247 women for 100 men, and in the manufacture of underwear 3,286 women for 100 men.*** It generally holds true, as Mme. C. Milhand states, that the greatest number of women are employed in those industries where the hours of work are particularly long and wages particularly low. "It is a sad fact that while the industries, where the hours of labor are short, only employ a few thousand women, those where the hours of work are long, employs hundreds of thousands of them."† In regard to the wage scale E. Levasseur says that a woman's wage rarely amounts to two-thirds of a man's wage and more frequently only to one-half.††

*Executive civil service of the United States. Washington, 1908.

**C. Milhand—L'ouvrière en France. Paris, 1907.

***E. Levasseur—Questions ouvrières et industrielles en France sous la troisième république. Paris, 1907.

†C. Milhand—L'ouvrière en France. Paris, 1907.

††E. Levasseur—Questions ouvrières et industrielles en France sous la troisième république. Paris, 1907.

2. Factory Work of Married Women.—Sweatshop Labor and Dangerous Occupations.

Married women form a large percentage of working women and their number is steadily increasing, which means a serious problem in regard to the family life of the working class. In 1899, German factory inspectors were instructed to investigate the work of married women and to inquire into the causes which lead them to seek employment.* This investigation showed that 229,334 married women were employed in factories. Besides 1,063 married women were employed in mining above the ground, as was shown by the report of the Prussian mining authorities. In Baden the number of married working women increased from 10,878 in 1894 to 15,046 in 1899, which is 31.27 per cent. of all adult female workers. The following table shows the distribution of married women factory laborers among the various trades:

Textile industry	111,194
Articles of food and luxury	39,080
Stone and pottery industry	19,475
Clothing and cleaning trades	13,156
Paper industry	11,049
Metal works	10,739
Wood and carving industry	5,635
Polygraphic trades	4,770
Manufacture of machinery	4,493
Chemical industry	4,380
Various	5,363
Total	229,334

Besides the textile industry, the manufacture of articles of food and luxury, especially the manufacture of tobacco, gives many married women employment. Then comes the paper industry, especially employment in work shops for the assorting of rags, and employment in brick yards. Married women are mainly employed in difficult occupa-

*Employment of married women in factories. Compiled from the annual reports of factory inspectors, for the year 1899 in the Home Department. Berlin, 1901.

tions (quarries, brick yards, dyeing establishments, manufacture of chemicals, sugar refineries, etc.), implying hard and dirty work, while young working girls under twenty-one find employment in porcelain factories, spinning and weaving mills, paper mills, cigar factories, and in the clothing trade. The worst kinds of work, shunned by others, are taken up by the elder working women, especially the married ones."*

Of the many replies in regard to the causes which lead married women to seek work only a few need to be mentioned. In the district of Potsdam the main reason given for the factory labor of married women was, that the earnings of the men were insufficient. In Berlin according to the reports of two inspectors 53.62 per cent. of the women who helped to support their families stated, that the earnings of their husbands were insufficient to support them. Similar information was given by the factory inspectors for the districts of western Prussia, Frankfort, on the Oder, Franconia, Wurtemberg, Elsatia, etc. The inspector for Magdeburg gives the same cause for the majority of married working women, but also states that some married women must work because their husbands are dissolute and spend all their earnings on themselves. Others again, it was reported, worked as a matter of habit and because they had not been trained to be housekeepers. It may be true that these causes hold good in a minority of cases; but the great majority of these women work because they must. The factory inspector for Alsace states as the main cause for gainful employment of married women in modern industry, **the demand for cheap labor,** created by the means of transportation and by unrestricted competition. He furthermore states that manufacturers like to employ married women because they are **more reliable and steady.** The factory inspector for Baden, Dr. Woerishoffer, says: "The low wages paid to women workers is the main cause why

*"In the centers of the weaving industry the percentage of married women among factory workers rises far above the average 26 per cent; for instance, in Saxony-Altenburg to 56 per cent, and in Reuss to 58 per cent."—R. Wilbrandt, The weavers at the present time. Jena, 1906.

employers resort to female labor wherever it can be made use of. Ample proof of this assertion can be found in the fact, that wages are lowest in those industries in which the greatest number of women are employed. As female labor can be employed to a great extent in these industries, it becomes a necessity to the working class families that the women should seek employment." The factory inspector for Coblentz says: "Women usually are more industrious and reliable than young girls. Young working girls generally have an aversion against disagreeable and dirty work, which is accordingly left to the more unassuming married workers. Thus, for instance, dealers in rags frequently employ married women."

That the wages of working women are lower everywhere than those of workingmen, even for equal work, is a well known fact. In this respect the private employer does not differ from the state or community. Women employed in the railroad and postal service receive less than men for the same kind of work. In every community women teachers receive a lower salary than men teachers. This may be explained by the following causes: Women have fewer needs and are, above all, more helpless; their earnings are in many cases only additional to the incomes of fathers or husbands, the main supporters of the fam ilies; the character of female labor is amateurish, temporary and accidental; there is an immense reserve force of female workers which increases their helplessness; there is much competition from middle class women in dressmaking, millinery, flower and paper goods manufactory, etc.; women are usually tied to their place of residence. All these causes make the hours of work longest for women unless they are protected by legislation.

In a report on the wages of factory laborers in Mannheim in 1893 the late Dr. Woerishoffer divides the weekly wages into three classes.* The lowest class comprises weekly wages up to 15 marks ($3.75), the middle class from 15 to 24 marks ($3.75 to $4), and the high class

*Woerishoffer—The social status of factory workers in Mannheim.

above 24 marks ($6). These wages were distributed among the workers as follows:

	Low class	Middle class	High class
All the workers	29.8 per cent	49.8 per cent	20.4 per cent
Male "	20.9 "	56.2 "	22.9 "
Female "	99.2 "	0.7 "	0.1 "

The majority of the working women were paid starvation wages, as the following table shows:

A weekly wage of	less than	5	marks	($1.25)	was	paid	to	4.62	per	cent
" " "	from	5	to	6	"	($1.25 to $1.50)	"	"	"	5.47	"	"
" " "	"	6	"	8	"	($1.50 " $2.00)	"	"	"	43.96	"	"
" " "	"	8	"	10	"	($2.00 " $2.50)	"	"	"	27.45	"	"
" " "	"	10	"	12	"	($2 50 " $3.00)	"	"	"	12.38	"	"
" " "	"	12	"	15	"	($3.00 " $3.50)	"	"	"	5.30	"	"
" " "	more than	15			($3.75)		"	"	"	0.74	"	"

An inquiry by the department of factory inspection of Berlin showed that the average weekly wages of working women was 11.36 marks ($2.82); 4.3 per cent. received less than 6 marks; 7.8 per cent. 6 to 8 marks; 27.6 per cent. 12 to 15 marks; 11.1 per cent. 15 to 20 marks, and 1.1 per cent. 20 to 30 marks. The majority (75.7 per cent) earn from 8 to 15 marks. In Karlsruhe the average weekly wages of all working women amounts to 10.02 marks.*

Wages are lowest in the domestic industries for both men and women, but especially for women, and the hours of work are unlimited. Also domestic industry frequently implies the so-called sweating system. A sub-contractor distributes the work among the workers and receives for his remuneration a considerable amount of the wages paid by the employer. How wretchedly female labor is paid in these sweated trades, may be seen from the following reports on conditions in Berlin. For men's colored shirts, manufacturers paid from 2 to 2½ marks in 1889. In 1893 they obtained them for 1.20 mark. A seamstress of medium ability must toil from dawn to darkness to finish from 6 to 8 shirts daily; her weekly wages amounts to from 4 to 5 marks. An apronmaker earns 2½ to 5 marks weekly, a tiemaker 5 to 6 marks, a **skillful** shirt-waist maker 6 marks, a **very skilled** worker

*Mary Baum—Three classes of women wage-earners in industry and commerce of the city Karlsruhe. 1906.

on boys' suits 8 to 9 marks, a worker on coats 5 to 6 marks. An experienced seamstress on fine men's shirts can earn 12 marks per week if the season is good, and if she works from 5 o'clock in the morning until 10 o'clock at night. Milliners who can copy models independently earn 30 marks monthly; experienced trimmers who have been working at their trade for years earn 50 to 60 marks per month during the season. The season lasts five months. An umbrellamaker earns 6 to 7 marks weekly with a twelve-hour day. Such starvation wages drive working girls to prostitution, for even with the most modest requirements no working girl can live in Berlin for less than 9 to 10 marks per week.

All these facts show that the modern development of industry draws away women more and more from the family and the home. Marriage and the family are being disrupted, and so from the standpoint of these facts also it becomes absurd to relegate woman to the home and the family. Only they can resort to this argument who go through life blindly and fail to see the trend of development, or do not wish to see it. In many branches of industry, women are employed exclusively; in a great many they constitute the majority of workers, and in most of the remaining branches women find more or less employment. The number of working women is steadily growing and new lines of activity are constantly being opened to them.

By the enactment of the German factory laws of 1891 the work day of adult women workers in factories was limited to eleven hours, but a number of exceptions were permitted. Night work for women was also prohibited, but here too exceptions were made for factories that run day and night, and for manufactures limited to certain seasons. Only after the international convention at Bern on September 26, 1906, determined on a night's rest of eleven hours for factory workers, and after Socialists for many years energetically demanded the prohibition of night work for women and the establishment of an eight-hour day, the government and the bourgeois parties are yielding at last. The law of December 28, 1908, limits the hours of work for women to ten hours daily in all

factories where no less than ten workers are employed. On Saturdays and on days preceding holidays the limit is eight hours. Women may not be employed for eight weeks prior to and after their confinement. Their readmission depends upon a medical certificate stating that at least six weeks have elapsed since their confinement. Women may not be employed in the manufacture of coke, nor for the carrying of building materials. In spite of the energetic opposition of Socialists, an amendment was accepted that the controlling officials may permit overtime work for 50 days annually. Especially noteworthy is the clause which constitutes a first interference with the exploitation by domestic industry. This clause determines that women and minors may not be given work to take home on days when their hours of work in the factory have been as long as the law permits. Regardless of its imperfections the new law certainly means progress compared to the present state of affairs.

But women are not only employed in growing numbers in those occupations that are suited to their inferior physical strength, they are employed wherever the exploiters can obtain higher profits by their labor. Among such occupations are difficult and disagreeable as well as dangerous ones. These facts glaringly contradict that fantastic conception of woman as a weak and tender creature, as described by poets and writers of novels. Facts are stubborn things, and we are dealing with facts only, since they prevent us from drawing false conclusions and indulging in sentimental talk. But these facts teach us, as has been previously stated, that women are employed in the following industries: The textile trades, chemical trades, metallurgy, paper industry, machine manufacture, wood work, manufacture of articles of food and luxury, and mining above the ground. In Belgium women over 21 are employed in mining underground also. They are furthermore employed in the wide field of agriculture, horticulture, cattle-breeding, and the numerous trades connected with these occupations, and in those various trades which have long since been their specific realm—dressmaking, millinery, manufacture of underwear, and as salesladies, clerks, teachers, kindergarten teachers,

writers, artists of all kinds, etc. Tens of thousands of women of the poorer middle class are employed in stores and in other commercial positions, and are thereby almost entirely withdrawn from housekeeping and from the care of their children. Lastly, young, and especially pretty women, find more and more employment as waitresses in restaurants and cafés as chorus girls, dancers, etc., to the greatest detriment to their morals. They are used as bait to attract pleasure-seeking men. Horrible conditions exist in these occupations from which the white slave traders draw many of their victims.

Among the above-named occupations there are many **dangerous ones.** Thus danger from the effects of alkaline and sulphuric fumes exists to a great degree in the manufacture and cleaning of straw hats. Bleaching is dangerous owing to the inhalation of chloral fumes. There is danger of poisoning in the manufacture of colored paper, the coloring of artificial flowers, the manufacture of metachromatypes, chemicals and poisons, the coloring of tin soldiers and other tin toys, etc. Silvering of mirrors means death to the unborn children of pregnant workers. In Prussia about 22 per cent. of all infants die during their first year of life; but among the babies of working women employed in certain dangerous occupations we find, as stated by Dr. Hirt, the following appalling death-rate; mirror makers, 65 per cent., glass cutters, 55 per cent.; workers in lead, 40 per cent. In 1890 it was reported that among 78 pregnant women who had been employed in the type founderies of the government district of Wiesbaden, only 37 had normal confinements. Dr. Hirt asserts that the following trades become especially dangerous to women during the second half of their pregnancy; the manufacture of colored paper and flowers, the finishing of Brussels laces with white lead; the making of metachromatypes (transfer pictures), the silvering of mirrors, the rubber industry, and all manufactures in which the workers inhale poisonous gases, such as carbonic acid, carbonic oxide, sulphide of hydrogen, etc. The manufacture of shoddy, and phosphoric matches are also dangerous occupations. The report of the factory inspector for Baden shows, that the average annual number of

premature births among working women increased from 1039 during the years 1882 to 1886 to 1,244 during the years 1887 to 1891. The number of births that had to be preceeded by an operation were on an average 1,118 from 1882 to 1886, and 1,385 from 1887 to 1891. More serious facts of this sort would be revealed if similar investigations were made throughout Germany. But generally the factory inspectors in framing their reports content themselves with the remark: "Particular injuries to women by their employment in factories have not been observed." How could they observe them during their short visits and without consulting medical opinion? That furthermore there is great danger to life and limb, especially in the textile trades, the manufacture of explosives and work at agricultural machinery has been shown. Moreover a number of enumerated trades are among the most difficult and strenuous, even for men; that can be seen by a glance at the very incomplete list. It is very easy to say that this or that occupation is unsuited to a woman. But what can she do if no other more suitable occupation is open to her? Dr. Hirt* gives the following list of occupations in which young girls ought not to be employed at all on account of the danger to their health: Manufacture of bronze colors, manufacture of emery paper, making of straw hats, glass cutting, lithographing, combing flax, picking horse hair, plucking fustian, manufacture of tin plate, manufacture of shoddy and work at flax mills.

In the following trades young girls should be employed only if proper protection (sufficient ventilation, etc) has been provided: Manufacture of wall paper, porcelain, lead pencils, lead shot, volatile oils, alum, prussiate of potash, bromide, quinine, soda, peraffine and ultramarine (poisonous), colored paper (poisonous) colored wafers, metachromatypes, phosphoric matches,** Paris green and artificial flowers. Further occupations on the list are the cutting and assorting of rags, the assorting and cut

*Industrial activity of women

**By an international agreement between Denmark, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland on Sept. 26, 1906. the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches will be

ting of tobacco leaves, assorting of hair for brushes, cleaning (with sulphur) of straw hats, sulphurizing of India-rubber, reeling wool and silk, cleaning bed-feathers, coloring and printing of goods, coloring of tin soldiers, packing of tobacco leaves, silvering mirrors, and cutting steel pins and pens. It is certainly no pleasant sight to behold women, even pregnant women, working at the construction of railways, together with men and drawing heavily loaded carts, or helping with the building of a house, mixing lime and serving as hod-carriers. Such occupations strip a woman of all womanliness, just as, on the other hand, many modern occupations deprive men of their manliness. Such are the results of social exploitation and social warfare. Our corrupted social conditions turn the natural order upside down.

It is not surprising that workingmen do not relish this tremendous increase of female labor in all branches of industry. It is certain that the extension of the employment of women in industry disrupts the family life of the working class, that the breaking up of marriage and the home are a natural result, and that it leads to a terrible increase of immorality, deegneration, all kinds of disease and infant morality. According to the statistics of the German Empire, infant mortality has greatly increased in those cities that have become centers of industry. As a result infant mortality is also heightened in the rural districts owing to the greater scarcity and increased cost of milk. In Germany, infant mortality is greatest in Upper Palatine, Upper Bavaria and Lower Bavaria, in some localities of the government districts of Liegnitz and Breslau and in Chemnitz. In 1907 of every 100 infants the following percentage died during the first year of life: Stadtamhof (Upper Palatinate) 40.14 per cent.; Parsberg (Upper Palatinate) 40.06; Friedberg (Upper Bavaria) 39.28; Kelheim (Lower Bavaria) 37.71; Munich 37.63; Glauchau (Saxony) 33.48; Waldenburg (Silesia)

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forbidden from January 1, 1911. In Germany the manufacture of these goods has been prohibited since Jan. 1, 1907, and since Jan. 1, 1908, they may neither be sold nor otherwise distributed. In England a similar law was enacted in 1909.

32.49; Chemnitz, 32.49; Reichenbach (Silesia)), 32.18; Annaberg, 31.41, etc. In the majority of large manufacturing villages conditions were still worse, some of which had an infant mortality of from 40 to 50 per cent.

And yet this social development which is accompanied by such deplorable results means **progress.** It means progress just as freedom of trade, liberty of choosing one's domicile, freedom of marriage, etc., meant progress, whereby capitalism was favored, but the middle class was doomed. The workingmen are not inclined to support small trades people and mechanics in their attempts again to limit freedom of trade and the liberty of choosing one's domicile and to reinstate the limitations of the guild system in order to maintain industry on a small scale. Past conditions cannot be revived; that is equally true of the altered methods of manufacture and the altered position of women. But that does not preclude the necessity of protective legislation to prevent an unlimited exploitation of female labor and the employment in industry of children of school age. In this respect the interests of the working class coincide with the interests of the state and the general humane interests of an advanced stage of civilization. That all parties are interested in such protective measures has frequently been shown during the last decades, for instance, in Germany in 1893, when an increase of the army made it necessary to reduce the required standard, because our industrial system had greatly increased the number of young men who were unfit for military service.* Our final aim must be to remove the disadvantages that have been caused by the introduction of machinery, the improvement in the means of production and the modern methods of production, and so to organize human labor that the **tremendous advantages** machinery gave to humanity and will continue to give

*The following percentage of men examined were found fit for military service: 1902, 58.5; 1903, 57.1; 1904, 56.4; 1905, 56.3; 1906, 55.9; and 1907, 54.9. The following percentage had to be discharged owing to disability after they had been enrolled: from 1881 to 1885, 2.07 per cent; from 1891 to 1895, 2.30 per cent; from 1901 to 1905, 2.47 per cent. W. Claassen—The decrease of military efficiency in the German Empire.

may be enjoyed by all members of society. It is preposterous and a crying evil that human achievements which are the product of social labor, should only benefit those who can acquire them by means of their power of wealth, while thousands of industrious workingmen and women are stricken by terror and grief when they learn of a new labor saving device, which may mean to them that they have become superfluous and will be cast out.* What should be joyfully welcomed by all thereby becomes an obejct of hatred to some, that in former decades frequently led workingmen to storm factories and demolish the machinery. A similar hostile sentiment prevails to some extent at present between working men and working women. This sentiment is unnatural. We must therefore seek to bring about a state of society in which all will enjoy equal rights regardless of sex. That will be possible when the means of production become the property of society, when labor has attained its highest degree of fruitfulness by employing all scientific and technical improvements and advantages, and when all who are able to work shall be obliged to perform a certain amount of socially necessary labor, for which society in return will provide all with the necessary means for the development of their abilities and the enjoyment of life.

Woman shall become a useful member of human society enjoying full equality with man. She shall be given the same opportunity to develop her physical and mental abilities, and by performing duties she shall be entitled to rights. Being man's free and equal companion no un-

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*In December 1871, factory inspector A. Redgrave delivered a lecture at Bradford in which he said among other things: "My attention has recently been called to the changed appearance in the wool mills. Formerly they were full of women and children; now the machines seem to do all the work. Upon my inquiry a manufacturer gave me the following information: 'under the old system I employed 63 persons; after the introduction of improved machinery I reduced my hands to 33; and recently, as a result of further great improvements, I was able to reduce them from 33 to 13'." Within a few years then the number of workers was reduced by almost 80 per cent while the same amount of goods were produced.—Further interesting information on this subject may be found in Capital by Karl Marx.

worthy demands will be made upon her. The present development of society is tending in this direction, and the numerous and grave evils incidental to this development necessitate the introduction of a new social order.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Struggle of Women for Education.

1. The Revolution in Domestic Life.

Although the change in the position of women is obvious to all who go through life with open eyes, we still continue to hear the idle talk that the home and the family are woman's natural sphere. This cry is most loudly raised wherever women attempt to enter the learned professions to become teachers at higher institutions of learning, physicians, lawyers, scientists, etc. The most ridiculous objections are resorted to and defended in the guise of scientific arguments. In this respect, as in many others, supposedly learned men base their arguments on science to defend what is most ridiculous and absurd. Their main objection is, that women are intellectually inferior to men; that in the realm of intellectual activity they cannot attain any noteworthy achievements. Most men are so prejudiced in regard to the professional abilities of women, that whoever resorts to arguments of this sort is sure to meet with approval. As long as the general status of culture and knowledge is as low as at present, new ideas will always be met with rigorous opposition, especially when it is in the interest of the ruling classes to limit culture and knowledge to their own strata. Therefore new ideas are at first upheld only by a small minority, and this small group is subjected to ridicule, slander and persecution. But if the new ideas are good and rational, if they have sprung up as a natural consequence of existing conditions, they will be disseminated, and the minority will eventually become the majority. It was thus with every new idea in the course of human history, and the idea of obtaining

woman's true and complete emancipation will meet with the same success. Were not the believers in Christian faith at one time a small minority? Was the reformation not ushered in by a small and persecuted group? Did not the modern bourgeoisie contend with overwhelmingly powerful opponents? Nevertheless they were victorious. Or was Socialism destroyed in Germany by twelve years of persecution by exceptional laws? The victory of Socialism was never more certain than when it was thought to be destroyed.

The assertion that housekeeping and child-rearing is woman's natural sphere is as intelligent as the assertion that there must always be kings, because there have been kings as long as there has been a history. We do not know how the first king originated, just as we do not know where the first capitalist appeared. But we do know that monarchy has been greatly transformed in the course of thousands of years, that it is the tendency of evolution to diminish the power of kings more and more and that the time will come—and that time is not far distant—when kings will be quite superfluous. Just as monarchy, so every institution of state and society is subjected to changes and transformations and ultimate destruction. In the historical expositions of this book we have seen, that the present form of marriage and the position of woman have by no means always been what they are to-day. We have seen that both are the product of an historical line of development that is still in progress. About 2,350 years ago Demosthenes could assert that woman had no other vocation but to give birth to legitimate children and to faithfully guard the house. To-day this conception has been overcome. No one could dare to defend this standpoint to-day without being accused of contempt of women. Indeed there are some even to-day who secretly share the view of the ancient Athenian, but no one would dare to express publicly what one of the foremost men of ancient Greece asserted freely and openly as a matter of course. Herein lies the progress.

Now, although modern development has undermined millions of marriages, it has on the other hand influenced the evolution of marriage favorably. Only a few decades

ago it was a matter of fact in every citizen's and peasant's home, that women not only sewed, knitted, washed, cooked, etc., but that they also baked the bread, spun and weaved, and bleached, brewed beer and manufactured tallow candles and soap. Running water, lighting and heating by gas—not to speak of electricity—besides numerous other modern housefurnishings were unknown in those days. Antiquated conditions persist even today, but they are exceptions. The majority of women are relieved from many occupations that were inevitable formerly, because many things can be made better and cheaper industrially than by the individual housewife. Thus, within a few decades a great revolution has taken place in our domestic life to which we pay so little heed, only because we take it for granted. People do not notice transformations even when they take place under their very eyes as long as they are not sudden and disturb the accustomed order, but they resent new ideas that threaten to interfere with their treading of the beaten path. This revolution in our domestic life that is still going on, has considerably changed the position of woman in the family in still another respect. Our grandmother could not and would not think of visiting theatres, concerts and places of amusement even on week days. Nor would any woman in the good old days have dared to bother about public affairs as so many do today. At present women organize and join clubs pursuing the most varied aims, they found newspapers, subscribe to them and edit them and hold conventions. As working women they organize industrially and attend the men's meetings. In some localities of Germany they even possessed the right to elect members to courts of trade, but of this right the reactionary majority in the diet deprived them again in the year of the Lord, 1890. Although these altered conditions have their dark sides too, the bright sides predominate, and not even any reactionary would wish to abolish them again. The women themselves, regardless of the conservative character of most of them, have no inclination either to return to the old, patriarchal conditions.

In the United States, society is organized along bour-

geois lines also, but it is not burdened with old European prejudices and antiquated institutions, and is therefore much more inclined to adopt new institutions and ideas if they hold promise of advantage. There, since quite some time, the position of woman is regarded differently than in Europe. Among wealthy circles women have been relieved not only of baking and brewing, but of cooking as well, and the one kitchen of an apartment hotel replaces many individual kitchens. Our army officers, who are no Socialists or Communists, have a similar method. In their casinos they form a sort of housekeeping community, appoint a manager, whose business it is to purchase the food wholesale, and to draw up the menus, and the food is cooked by steam in the kitchen of the barracks. They live far more cheaply than they could in a hotel, and their food is at least as good. Thousands of wealthy families live in boarding houses or hotels all year or part of the year without missing their domestic cooking. They, on the contrary, regard it as a great comfort to be relieved of the private kitchen. The general aversion of rich and wealthy women against kitchen work does not seem to signify that this occupation is a part of woman's "natural sphere." Indeed, the fact that rich families and large hotels employ male cooks makes it appear as if cooking were man's work. Let these facts be noted by men who cannot conceive woman except surrounded by pots and pans.

Nothing could be simpler than to combine a central laundry with a central kitchen—as has already been done in all large cities by wealthy private residents or speculators—and to make the institution general. With the central kitchen, central heating, hot water supply, etc., might be connected, and much troublesome work entailing a great waste of time and effort would be abolished. Large hotels, many private houses, hospitals, schools, barracks and other public buildings have these and other modern improvements, as electric light, bathing establishments, etc. The mistake is that only public institutions and wealthy persons profit by these improvements. If made accessible to all, they would save a tremendous amount of time, effort, labor and expense,

and would considerably heighten the general well being. In the summer of 1890 German newspapers published reports of progress being made in the United States in regard to central heating and ventilation. In these reports, among other things, the following was stated: "Experiments that have recently been made, especially in North America, to heat entire blocks or portions of a city from one centrally located place, have been successful in no small degree. The construction has been so carefully planned and so practically applied, that the favorable results and financial advantages will undoubtedly lead to an extension of this system. Recently further experiments have been made to provide not only the heating but also the ventilation of entire districts from centrally located places."

Many of these contemplated improvements have since been realized and further improved. Narrow-minded philistines shrug their shoulders when such and similar plans are discussed; and yet in Germany, too, we are in the midst of a new industrial revolution, whereby the individual kitchen and other housework will become as superfluous as labor by manual tools became superfluous by the introduction of modern machinery. As late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, even a Napoleon could deride as a crazy idea the project of moving a vessel by steam. People who were considered intelligent, regarded the plan of building a railroad as an absurdity; they claimed that no one could live in a vehicle travelling at such high speed. In the same manner many new ideas are dealt with to-day. If some one had told our women a century ago that they should get their water from a faucet in the kitchen instead of drawing it from the well, he would have been accused of seeking to encourage laziness in housewives and servants.

But the great technical revolution along all lines is in full swing. Nothing can stay its progress. It is the historical mission of bourgeois society that has ushered in this revolution, to lead it to its climax, and everywhere to bring to light the germs of transformation, which a society organized on a new basis will merely need to generalize and to make the common property of all.

The development of our social life does not tend to lead woman back to the home and hearth, a state that fanatics on domesticity desire, and for which they clamor as the Jews in the desert clamored for the lost flesh-pots of Egypt. **It demands the release of woman from her narrow sphere of domestic life, and her full participation in public life and the missions of civilization.** Laveleye is right when he says*: "With the growth of what we call civilization, the feelings of piety toward family life decrease and its bonds become looser and have less influence on the actions of men. This fact is so general that it may be regarded as a law of social development." Not only has the position of woman in the family changed, but also the position of son and daughter in their relation to the family. They have gradually obtained a degree of independence that was unheard of formerly. This is especially so in the United States, where young persons are educated to become self-reliant and independent to a far greater extent than in Europe. The dark sides that are incidental to this form of development also are not necessarily connected with it, but are rooted in the social conditions of our time. Bourgeois society does not produce any new and pleasing phenomena that do not have a dark side as well. As Fourier already pointed out with much perspicacity, all its progress is double-edged. Like Laveleye, Dr. Schaeffle also recognizes the changed nature of the modern family as a result of social development. He says:** "Thruout history we find the tendency of the family to return to its specific functions. The family abandons one provisionally and temporarily maintained function after another and, inasmuch as it only filled out the gaps in social functions, it yields to the independent institutions of law, order, power, divine service, teaching, industry, etc., as soon as such institutions are developed."

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*Original Property. Chap. XX, Household Community. Leipsic, 1879.

**Structure and Life of the Body Social. Vol. I. Tuebingen, 1878

2. THE INTELLECTUAL ABILITIES OF WOMEN.

Women are advancing, tho at present only a small minority strives to advance, and of these again only a few are fully conscious of their aims. They not only wish to measure their strength with that of men industrially and commercially, they not only wish to hold a more independent position in the family, they also wish to employ their intellectual abilities in higher positions and in public life. They are met time and again with the argument that they are unfit by nature for intellectual occupations. The question of the practice of learned professions only concerns a small number of women in present-day society, but it is important as a matter of principle. The majority of men seriously believe that women must remain subjected to them intellectually also and that they have no right to seek equality; therefore they are vehemently opposed to the intellectual ambitions of women. The same men who do not object to women being employed in difficult and dangerous occupations that threaten their womanliness and injure their maternity, would bar them from professions that are far less difficult and dangerous and far better suited to their physical abilities. In Germany, the lively agitation for the admission of women to universities, has called forth a great number of opponents who especially oppose the admission of women to the study of medicine. Among these are Pochhammer, Fehling, Binder, Hegar, and others. J. Beerenbach seeks to prove that women are not qualified for scientific study, by pointing out that no genius had as yet sprung up among women. This argument is neither valid nor convincing. Geniuses do not drop from the sky; they must have an opportunity for development, and such opportunity women have been lacking, for since thousands of years they have been oppressed and deprived of opportunity for intellectual development, and thereby their mental abilities have become atrophied. A considerable number of distinguished women exist even to-day, and if one denies the existence of potential geniuses among them, that is as far from being true as the belief that there were no more geniuses among men than those that were recognized as such. Every country schoolteacher knows

how many able minds among his pupils are never developed because they lack opportunity for development. Indeed we all have in our day met persons in whom we recognized rare ability and who, we felt, would have become a credit to the community, if circumstances had been more favorable to them. The number of talents and geniuses among men is far greater than could be revealed until now. The same is true of the abilities of women that have for thousands of years been far more hampered, repressed and cramped than those of men. We have no standard whereby we can measure the amount of intellectual strength and ability among men and women, that would unfold if they could develop under natural conditions.

To-day it is in human life as in plant life. Millions of precious seeds never achieve development because the ground on which they are cast is unfertile or is already occupied, and the young plant is thus deprived of air, light and nourishment. The same laws that apply to nature apply to human life. If a gardener or farmer would claim that a plant could not be perfected without having made an attempt to perfect it, his more enlightened neighbors would consider him a fool. They would hold the same opinion of him if he would refuse to interbreed one of his female domestic animals with a male of more perfect breed to obtain more perfect stock.

There is no peasant to-day who is so ignorant not to recognize the advantage of a rational treatment of his vegetables, fruit, and cattle; whether his means allow the application of advanced methods is another question. Only in regard to humanity even educated people will not admit what they regard as an irrefutable law with the rest of the organic world. Yet one need not be a scientist to derive instructive observations from life. How is it that peasant children differ from city children? How is it that children of the wealthier classes are, as a rule, distinguishable from the children of the poor by facial and bodily traits and by mental qualities? It is due to the difference in their conditions of living and education.

The one-sidedness of training for a certain profession leaves its particular imprint upon a person. As a rule a

minister or a school teacher can easily be recognized by his bearing and the expression of his face, as also a military man, even in plain clothes. A cobbler is easily distinguished from a tailor, a carpenter from a locksmith. Twin brothers who greatly resembled each other in their youth, will show marked differences in a more advanced age if their occupations have been very different from one another; if, for instance, one is a manual laborer, say a blacksmith, and the other has studied philosophy. Heredity on the one hand and adaptation on the other, are decisive factors in human development as well as in the animal kingdom, and man, moreover, is the most adaptive of all creatures. Sometimes a few years of a different mode of life and a different occupation suffice to alter a person completely. External changes are never more clearly seen than when a person is transplanted from poor and narrow circumstances to greatly improved ones. His past can perhaps be disavowed least in his mental culture. When people have attained a certain age, they frequently have no ambition for intellectual improvement, and often they do not need it either. A parvenu rarely suffers from this shortcoming. In our day money is the chief asset, and people bow far more readily before the **man with a great fortune than before the man of knowledge and great intellectual abilities, especially if it is his ill fortune to be poor.** The worship of Mammon was never greater than in our day. Yet we are living in the "best of worlds."

Our industrial districts furnish a striking example of the influence of decidedly different conditions of life and education. Even externally, workers and capitalists differ to such an extent as if they were members of two different races. These differences were brought home to us in an almost startling manner at the occasion of a campaign meeting during the winter of 1877 in an industrial town of Saxony. The meeting, in which a discussion with a liberal professor was to take place, had been so arranged that an equal number of both parties were present. The front of the hall was occupied by our opponents, almost without exception healthy, strong, and some stately figures. In the rear of the hall and on the galler-

ies were the workingmen and small traders, nine-tenths of them weavers, mostly small, narow-chested, hollow-cheeked figures whose faces bore the imprints of care and need. The one group represented the well-fed virtue and morality of the bourgeois world, the other represented the worker—bees and beasts of burden on whose labor the gentlemen waxed strong. If one generation were reared under equally favorable conditions of life the differences would be greatly decreased and would quite disappear among their progeny.

It is usually more difficult to determine the social position among women than among men. They easily accustom themselves to altered conditions and readily adopt more refined habits of life. Their adaptability is greater than that of the more clumsy man.

What good soil, air and light are to the plant, that to man are healthful social conditions, which enable him to develop his physical and mental qualities. The saying that "man is what he eats" expresses a similar thought somewhat too narrowly. Not only what a man eats, but his entire standard of life and his social environment advance or hamper his physical and mental development, and influence his feelings, his thoughts and his actions favorably or unfavorably, as the case may be. We see every day that persons living in good financial circumstances go to ruin mentally and morally, because outside of the narrow sphere of their domestic and personal relations, unfavorable influences, **social** in character. were brought to bear upon them and gained such control over them that they were driven into evil ways. The social conditions under which we live are even more important than the conditions of family life. But when the social conditions of development will be the same for both sexes, when there will be no restriction for either, and when the general state of society will be a healthful one, **woman will rise to a height of perfection that we can hardly conceive to-day, because until now no such conditions have existed in human evolution.** The achievements of individual women justify our highest expectations, for these tower above the mass of their sex just as male geniuses tower above the mass of men. If we apply

the standard of rulership, for instance, we find that women have shown even greater talent for ruling than men. To mention just a few examples: There were Isabella and Blanche of Castilia, Elizabeth of Hungary, Katherine Sforza, Countess of Milan and Imola, Elizabeth of England, Katherine of Russia, Maria Theresa, and others. Basing his assertion on the fact that women have ruled well among all nations and in all parts of the globe, even over the wildest and most turbulent hordes, Burbach is led to remark that **according to all probability women would be better qualified for politics than men***. When in 1901 Queen Victoria of England died, a large English newspaper made the suggestion to introduce female succession exclusively in England, because the history of England showed that its queens ruled better than its kings.

Many a great man of history would shrivel considerably if we always knew how much was due to his own efforts and how much he owed to others. As one of the greatest geniuses of the French Revolution, German historians regard Count Mirabeau. Yet research has revealed the fact, that he owed the preparation of almost all his speeches to the willing assistance of a few learned men who worked for him secretly and whose labor he skillfully made use of. On the other hand, women like Sappho, Diotima, at the time of Socrates, Hypatia of Alexandria, Madame Roland, Mary Wollstonecraft, Olympe de Gouges, Madame de Staël, George Sand, and others, merit our highest admiration. Many a male star pales beside them. The influence of women as mothers of great men is also well known.. Women have accomplished as much as they could accomplish under **exceedingly unfavorable** circumstances, and that entitles us to great expectations for the future. As a matter of fact, women were admitted to competition with men in various realms of activity only during the second half of the nineteenth century. The results obtained are very satisfactory.

But even should we take for granted that women, as a

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*Dr. Havelock Ellis.—Man and Woman.

rule, are not as capable of development as men, that there are no geniuses and philosophers among them, we are nevertheless led to ask whether this factor was considered among men when they, according to the wording of the laws, were given complete equality with the geniuses and philosophers. The learned men who deny the intellectual ability of women, are inclined to do the same in the case of workingmen. When persons of nobility pride themselves on their "blue" blood and their pedigree, they smile and contemptuously shrug their shoulders; but in the presence of the man of lowly birth they consider themselves an aristocracy that have achieved their favored position, not through their more advantageous circumstances, but only by their own peculiar talents. The same men, who are unprejudiced in one respect and have a poor opinion of persons who are not as liberal-minded as they, become incredibly narrow-minded and fanatical when their class interests or personal conceit are involved. Men of the upper classes judge men of the lower classes unfavorably, and in the same way almost all men judge women unfavorably. The majority of men regard women only as a means to their comfort and enjoyment. To regard them as beings endowed with equal rights is repugnant to their prejudiced minds. Woman should be modest and submissive; she should confine her interests to the home, and leave all other domains to the "lords of creation." Woman should check every thought and inclination, and wait patiently for what her earthly providence, father or husband, may decide. If she lives up to this standard she is praised for her good sense, modesty and virtue, even tho she may break down under the burden of physical and moral suffering. But if we speak of the equality of all human beings, it is preposterous to wish to exclude half of humanity.

Woman has the same right as man to develop her abilities and to employ them freely. She is a human being as well as man and should have the freedom of disposing of her own body and mind and be her own master. The chance of having been born a woman, must not affect her human rights. To exclude woman from equal rights because she has been born a woman and not a man—a fact

of which both man and woman are innocent—is as unfair, as to make rights and privileges depend upon religious or political opinion; and it is as irrational as the belief that two persons are innate enemies because, by the chance of birth, they belong to different races or nationalities. Such views are unworthy of a free human being. Progress of humanity consists in removing whatever keeps one human being, one class or one sex in slavery and dependence upon another. **No difference is justified except those differences established by nature to fulfill its purpose. But no sex will overstep the natural limits, because it would thereby destroy its own purpose in nature.**

3. DIFFERENCES IN PHYSICAL AND MENTAL QUALITIES OF MAN AND WOMAN.

One of the chief arguments of the opponents of equal rights is, that woman has a smaller brain than man and is less developed in other respects, and that therefore her lasting inferiority is proven. It is certain that man and woman are two human beings of different sex, that each has different organs adapted to the sexual purpose, and that, owing to the fulfillment of the sexual function, a number of differences in their physiological and psychological conditions exist. These are facts that no one can nor will deny; **but they do not furnish any cause for social or political inequality between man and woman.** Humanity and society consist of **both** sexes; **both** are **indispensable** to their maintenance and development. Even the greatest man was born by a mother to whom he may owe his best qualities and abilities. By what right, then, can woman be denied equality with man?

According to the opinion of eminent authorities, the most marked differences in physical and mental qualities between man and woman are the following: In regard to stature, Havelock Ellis considers 170 centimeters the average height for men and 160 centimeters for women. According to Vierordt, it is 172 and 160, and in northern Germany, according to Krause, 173 and 163 centimeters.

The proportion of man's stature to woman's is as 100 to 93. The average weight of adult persons is 65 kilograms for men and 54 for women. The greater length of the trunk in a woman's body is a well-known difference; yet this difference is not as great as has been generally assumed, as careful measurements have shown. The legs of a woman of medium size are only by 15 millimeters shorter than those of a man of medium size, and Pfitzner doubts that this difference is noticeable. "The differences in the lengths of body and legs are influenced by the stature, and are independent of sex." But the female arm is decidedly shorter than the male arm (as 100 to 91.5). The male hand is broader and larger than the female hand, and with men the ring-finger is usually longer than the index, while the opposite is the case with women. By this the male hand becomes more ape-like, as the long arm also is a pithecoid (ape-like) characteristic.

In regard to the size of the head, the proportion of the absolute height of male and female heads may be set down as 100 to 94. But the relative sizes (in proportion to the size of the body) are 100 to 100.8. So actually woman's head is somewhat smaller, but in proportion to the size of her body, it is somewhat larger than man's. The bones of woman are smaller, finer, and more delicate in form and have a smoother surface, for the weaker muscles require less rough surface to fasten upon. The weaker muscular development is one of the most striking characteristics of woman. Each separate muscle of a woman's body is finer, softer, and contains more water. (According to v. Bibra the quantity of water contained in the muscles is 72.5 per cent. with man, and 74.4 per cent. with woman.) In regard to the adipose membrane the opposite proportion exists; it is much more amply developed with woman than with man. The chest is relatively shorter and narrower. Other differences are directly connected with the sexual purpose. The statements of various authors in regard to relative and absolute weight of the intestines, are very contradictory. According to Vierordt the proportion of the weight of the heart to the weight of the body is as 1 to 215 with men,

and as 1 to 206 with women. According to Clendinning it is as 1 to 158 and as 1 to 149. Taken all in all, we may assume that the female intestines are absolutely smaller, but relatively, in proportion to the weight of the body, heavier than the male.

The blood of women shows a larger percentage of water, a smaller quantity of blood-globules, and a smaller quantity of hemachrome. With woman the smaller size of the heart, the narower vascular system, and probably also the larger percentage of water in the blood, cause a less intense assimilation of matter and an inferior nutrition. This may also account for the weaker jaws. "It may thus be explained that even civilized man in many respects is more closely connected with the animal world, especially the ape, than woman, that he possessses pithecoid traits which may be seen in the shape of the skull and the length of the limbs."

In regard to the differences of the skull of both sexes, let it be stated that, according to Bartels, there is no absolute indication whereby we could determine whether a skull belonged to a male or female person. Absolute comparison shows that the skulls of men are larger in all dimensions. Accordingly the weight is greater, too, and the interior space is larger.

As a medium weight of normally developed brains of adult persons, Grosser states 1388 grammes for the man and 1252 grammes for the woman* The great majority of male brains (34 per cent.) weigh between 1250 and 1550 grammes, and the great majority of female brains (91 per cent.) weigh between 1100 and 1450 grammes. But these weights are not subject to direct comparison since woman is smaller than man. It is, accordingly, necessary to determine the weight of the brain in proportion to the body. When we compare the weight of the brain with the

*The following average weights of male and female brains have been determined by the following scientists:

	Male brain.	Female brain.
Bischoff (Bavaria)	1362	1219
Boyd (England)	1325	1183
Marchand (Hessia)	1399	1248
Retzius (Sweden)	1388	1252

weight of the body we find that with the man there are 21.6 grammes of the brain for every kilogram of the weight of the body, and with the woman there are 23.6 grammes. This outweighing is explained by the fact that woman's stature is smaller.*

Different results are obtained by a comparison of equally large individuals of both sexes. According to Marchand the weight of the female brain is, without exception, lighter than that of men of the same size. But this method is as incorrect as a comparison with the size of the body. It takes for granted what remains to be proven: a direct relation between the size of the body and the weight of the brain. Blakeman, Alice Lee and Karl Pearson have determined on the basis of English data and measurements, that there is no noticeable relative difference in the weight of the brain between man and woman; that is, a man of the same age, stature and skull measurements as the average woman, wonld not differ from her in regard to the weight of his brain.**

Even Marchand points out that the smaller size of woman's brain may be due to the greater fineness of her nerves. Grosser says: "Indeed, this has not yet been determined by means of the microscope, and would be difficult to determine. But we must point to the analogy that the eye-ball and the cavity of the ear are also somewhat smaller with woman than with man, yet these organs are no less fine and serviceable. Another, perhaps the chief reason, for the lighter weight of the woman's brain may be found in her weaker muscular development.***

Inasmuch as the differences are rooted in the nature of sex, they can, of course, not be altered. But to what extent these differences in blood and brain can be changed by a different mode of life (nourishment, physical and

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*Men of genius as a rule are small of stature with a massy brain. These are also the chief characteristics of the child, and their general facial expression as also their temperament resemble the child's."—Havelock Ellis, Man and Woman.

**J. Blakeman, Alice Lee & K. Pearson— AStudy of the biometric constants of English Brainweights. Biometrica, 1905.

***Dr. Otto Grosser—The structure of the female body in "Man and Woman." Stuttgart, 1907.

mental culture, occupation, etc.) cannot be definitely determined for the time being. **That modern woman differs from man to a greater extent than primitive woman or the woman of inferior races, seems to be established, and when we consider the social development of woman's position among civilized nations during the past 1000 or 1500 years, it seems only too obvious.**

The following shows the capacity of the female skull according to Havelock Ellis (assuming the capacity of the male skull to be 1000):

Negro	984	Russian	884
Hottentot	951	German	838 to 897*
Hindu	944	Chinese	870
Eskimo	931	English	860 to 862
Dutch	913	Parisian, 19 yrs.,	858

The conflicting statements among the Germans show that the measurements have been taken among greatly differing material, both in regard to quality and quantity, and that therefore they are not absolutely reliable. But the figures clearly show one thing: that Negroes, Hottentots and Hindu women have a considerably larger capacity of the skull than the German, English and Parisian women; and yet the latter are far more intelligent.

A comparison of the brain-weights of well-known deceased men shows similar contradictions and peculiarities. According to Professor Reclam, the brain of the scientist Cuvier weighed 1830 grammes; that of Byron, 1807; that of the famous mathematician Ganss, 1492; of the philologist Hermann, 1358; of the Parisian prefect Hausmann, 1226. It is said that the weight of Dante's brain also was below the average weight of the male brains. Havelock Ellis gives us similar information. He reports that the brain of an unknown person, weighed by Bischoff, had a weight of 2222 grammes, while the brain of the poet Turgeniew weighed only 2012 grammes; the third largest brain was that of an imbecile; the brain of a plain workingman that was also examined by Bischoff.

*According to five different authors: 838, 864, 878, 883, 897. For Prussia (Kupfer), 918; for Bavaria (Rause), 893.

weighed 1325 grammes. The heaviest female brains weighed between 1742 and 1580 grammes; two of these were taken from women who had suffered from mental derangement. On the congress of German anthropologists, which was held in Dortmund in August, 1902, Professor Waldeyer stated that an examination of the skull of the philosopher Leibnitz, who died in 1716, had shown that its contents only measured 1450 cubic centimeters, which corresponds to a brainweight of 1300 grammes. According to Hausemann, who examined the brains of Mommsen, Bunsen and Adolph v., Menzel, Mommsen's brain weighed 1429.4 grammes; it accordingly did not exceed the average brainweight of an adult man. Menzel's brain weighed only 1298 grammes and Bunsen's less still—1295 grammes, below the average male brainweight and not much above the brainweight of a woman. Those are striking facts that completely overthrow the old assumption that intellectual abilities could be measured by the capacity of the skull. After an examination of the English data, Raymond Pearl comes to the following conclusion: "There are no proofs of a close relation between intellectual abilities and brainweight."* The English anthropologist, W. Duckworth, says: "There is no proof that a heavy brainweight is accompanied by great intellectual ability. Neither the brainweight, nor the capacity of the skull, nor the circumference of the head, where they could be determined, have been of any use as a measure of intellectual abilities."** Kohlbruegge, who has during recent years published the results of the examinations of human brains of many races, says: "Intelligence and brainweight are entirely dependent of one another. Even the greater brainweight of famous men is not sufficient proof, since it exceeds the general medium weight, but not that of the upper classes to which these men belonged. But by these statements I do not seek to deny that brainweight can be increased, especially by excessive study during youth, which may account for the heavier brainweights and the

*Raymond Pearl—Variation or Correlation in Brainweight. Biometrika, vol. IV. June, 1905.

*W. Duckworth—Morphology and Anthropology. Cambridge, 1904.

greater skull capacity of the upper classes and of scholarly persons, especially when—as is usually the case among the well-to-do—excessive nourishment is added. This increase in weight by mental over-exertion has its dark sides also, as is well known. Lunatics often have very heavy brains. The main point is that it cannot be proven that intelligence (something entirely different from productiveness) has any relation to weight. It is true of the external formation also, that until now, no connection could be shown between certain forms and higher mental development, intelligence, or genius."*

It is established, then, that we cannot draw conclusions from the brainweight as to mental qualities, as little as we can draw conclusions from the size of the body as to physical strength. The large mammals, such as elephant, whale, etc., have larger and heavier brains; yet in regard to proportional brainweight they are excelled by most birds and small mammals. We have some very small animals (ant, bee) that are far more intelligent than much larger ones (for instance, sheep, cow), just as people of large stature often are mentally inferior to persons of small and insignificant appearance. According to all probability the mass of the brain is not the determining factor, **but its organization and the practice and use of its powers.**

"In my opinion," says Professor L. Stieda, "the difference in psychic functions can doubtlessly be accounted for by the finer construction of the gray matter, the nerve cells, the white matter, the arrangement of the blood-vessels, the construction, form, size and number of nerve-cells, and last but not least, their nutrition, their metabolic assimilation."**

If the brain is to attain the full development of its faculties, it must be exercised regularly, and the brain must be properly nourished, just as every other organ; if this is left undone, or if the training is a faulty one, the

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*Kohlbruegge—Investigations of the furrows of the brain of human races. Journal of Morphology and Anthropology. Stuttgart, 1908.

**L. Stieda—The Brain of the Philologist. Journal of Morphology and Anthropology, 1907.

normal development will be hampered, even crippled. One faculty is developed at the expense of another.

There are some anthropologists, as Manouvrier and others, who even seek to prove that woman is morphologically more highly developed than man. That is an exaggeration. Duckworth says: "When we compare the two sexes, we find that there is no constant difference that lets one sex appear morphologically superior to the other."* Havelock Ellis only admits of one limitation. He believes that female characteristics show fewer variations than the male. But, in an anticritique, Karl Pearson has explicitly shown that this is only a pseudo-scientific superstition.**

No one who is acquainted with the history of the development of woman can deny, that woman has been sinned against. If Professor Bischoff asserts that woman was enabled to develop her brain and her intelligence as well as man, this assertion merely shows an incredible degree of ignorance upon the subject. The description we have given in this book of the position of woman during the course of civilization, makes it appear quite natural, that thousands of years of male rule have brought about the difference in the physical and mental development of the sexes.

Our scientists ought to recognize that the laws of their sciences apply fully to man also. Heredity and adaptation prevail with man as with every other living creature. But if man constitutes no exception in nature, the law of evolution must apply to him also, whereby that becomes clear what othrwise remains wrapped in darkness, and then becomes an object of scientific mysticism or mystic science.

The brain formation of the sexes has developed in accordance with their different educations. Indeed during a great portion of the past, the word education could not be applied to woman at all. Physiologists are agreed that those parts of the brain which influence the intellect are

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*Duckworth (as above).

**K. Pearson—Variation in Man and Woman in Chances of Death. London, 1897.

situated in the fore-part of the head, while those that specially influence feeling and sentiment, are situated in the middle part. **The conception of beauty for man and woman has developed accordingly.** According to the Greek conception, which still prevails, **woman is supposed to have a low forehead, while man is supposed to have a high and broad forehead.** This conception of beauty, which is a symptom of her degradation, has been so impressed upon our women, that they consider a high forehead unbeautiful and seek to improve upon nature by combing their hair over their forehead to make it appear lower.

4.—Darwinism and the Condition of Society.

It has accordingly not been proven, that women are inferior to men as a result of the quantity of their brain; yet the present intellectual status of women is not surprising. Darwin is surely right in saying, that if a list of the ablest men on the subjects of poetry, painting, sculpture, music, science and philosophy were placed beside a list of the ablest women on the same subjects, the two could not compare with one another. But could it be otherwise? **It would be surprising if it were not so.** Very correctly Dr. Dodel (Zurich)* says, that it would be different if for a number of generations men and women would be similarly educated. As a rule, woman is physically weaker than man also, which is by no means the case among many uncivilized peoples.** How much can be attained by practice and training from childhood on, may, for instance, be seen with ladies of the circus and female acrobats, who achieve most astounding things in regard to courage, daring, skill and strength.

As all these things are conditioned by the mode of life and education, as they are—to use a scientific term—due

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*The Newer History of the Creation.

**Proofs of this may be found in the previously quoted book by Dr. Havelock Ellis. He relates that among many savage and semi-savage tribes woman is not only man's equal in regard to size and strenght, but even his superior. Ellis is agreed with others that the differences of brain between the sexes have increased with the development of civilization.

to "breeding," it may be assumed as certain that the physical and intellectual life of man will lead to the best results, as soon as man will **consciously and expediently influence his development.**

As plants and animals depend upon conditions of existence, as they are fostered by favorable and hampered by unfavorable ones, and as compulsory conditions force them to change their nature and character—provided that their influence does not destroy them—thus it is also with man. The manner in which a human being obtains his means of subsistence not only affects his external appearance, but also his feelings, his thoughts and his actions. If unfavorable conditions of existence—that is, unfavorable social conditions—are the cause of insufficient individual development, then it follows that by a change of his conditions of existence—that is, his social condition—man himself will be changed. The point in question, then, is, so to organize social conditions that every human being will be given an opportunity for the untrammelled development of his nature; that the laws of development and adaptation—called Darwinism after Darwin—may be consciously and expediently applied to all human beings. But that will only be possible under Socialism. As a rational being, capable of judgment, man must so alter his social conditions and everything in connection with them, that equally favorable conditions of existence prevail for all. Every individual shall be enabled to develop his talents and abilities to his own advantage as well as to the advantage of society, but he must not have the power to harm other individuals or society at large. His own advantage and the advantage of all shall coincide. Harmony of interests must supercede the conflict of interests that dominate present-day society.

Darwinism, like every true science, is an eminently democratic science.* If some of its representatives claim that the opposite is true, they fail to recognize the range of their own science. Its opponents, especially the clergy, who are always quick to perceive any advantage

*"The hall of science is the temple of democracy.". Buckle—History of Civilization in England. Vol. II.

or disadvantage to themselves, have recognized this, and therefore denounce Darwinism as being Socialistic or atheistic. In this respect Professor Virchow agrees with his most vehement opponents, for at the congress of Scientists, held in Munich in 1877, he asserted in opposition to Professor **Haeckel:** "The Darwinian theory leads to Socialism.* Virchow tried to discredit Darwinism because Haeckel demanded, that the theory of evolution should be introduced into the school curriculum. The suggestion to teach science in the schools according to Darwin, and the results of modern scientific investigations, is vehemently opposed by all those who wish to maintain the present order. The revolutionary effect of these doctrines is well known; therefore it is deemed **wiser to propagate them only among the chosen few.** But we contend that if the Darwinian theories lead to Socialism, as Virchow claims, that is no argument against these theories, but an argument in favor of Socialism. Men of science should not question whether the consequences of a science lead to one form of the state or another, whether one social condition or another is justified by them; it is their sole duty to investigate whether the theories are in accordance with truth, **and if they are, to accept them with all their consequences.** Whoever acts otherwise, be it for personal gain or favor or to serve class or party interest, commits a despicable action and is

*Ziegler denies that this was the sense of Virchow's remarks, but his own report of Virchow's speech only confirms it. Virchow said: "Now, just picture how the theory of evolution is conceived even today by the brain of a Socialist! (Laughter) Yes, gentlemen, that may seem amusing to some of you, but it is a very serious matter, and I only hope the theory of evolution may not bring us such horrors as similar theories have brought about in our neighboring country. If this theory is consistently followed out it is very hazardous, and you cannot have failed to observe that Socialism is in sympathy with it. We should make this perfectly clear."—Well, we have done what Virchow feared, we have drawn the conclusions of the Darwinian theories that Darwin himself and many of his followers either failed to draw or drew incorrectly, and Virchow warned against the dangers of these doctrines because he perceived that Socialism would draw and would have to draw the conclusions that are involved in them.

no credit to science. The representatives of corporate science, especially at our universities, can indeed only rarely lay claim to independence of character. The fear of financial loss, or the fear of being discredited with the powers that be and of being thereby deprived of title and rank and the opportunity of advancement, causes most of these representatives to bow down and either to conceal their conviction, or to say publicly the opposite of what they believe and know. At a ceremony of homage to the ruler held at the University of Berlin in 1870, Dubois-Reymond exclaimed: "The universities are institutions where the intellectual body-guards of the Hohenzollern are trained." If a Dubois-Reymond could express himself in this manner, we can imagine what conceptions in regard to the object of science are held by the majority of the others, who are very inferior to this eminent scientist.* Science is degraded to serve the purposes of the ruling powers.

It is only natural that Professor Haeckel and his adherents, Professor O. Schmidt, v. Hellwald and others, remonstrate energetically against the terrible accusation that Darwinism leads to Socialism. They claim that the opposite is true, that Darwinism is aristocratic, since it teaches that everywhere in nature the more highly organized and stronger living beings suppress the inferior ones; and since, according to their conception, the propertied and educated classes constitute these more highly organized and stronger living beings in human society, they consider the rule of these classes a matter of course, since it is justified by the laws of nature.

These, among our evolutionists, are ignorant of the economic laws which dominate bourgeois society. Otherwise they would know that the blind rule of these laws does not raise to social pre-eminence either the best or the ablest or the most competent, but frequently the worst and the most cunning, who thereby are placed in a position of making the conditions of life and development most favorable to their progeny, without the least

*In reference to former attacks upon him, Dubois Reymond repeated the sentence quoted above in February, 1883, during the commemoration of the birthday of Frederick the Great.

effort on their part. Under no economic system did persons, possessing good and noble human qualities, have so little opportunity of attaining and maintaining an elevated position, as under the capitalistic system. Without fear of exaggeration it may be said, that this state of affairs increases with the development of this system. Lack of consideration for others and unscrupulousness in the choice and application of means to attain one's end, prove far more effective than all human virtues combined. Only one who is ignorant of the nature of this society or who is so dominated by bourgeois prejudices that he cannot reason properly or draw correct conclusions, could regard a social system based upon such conditions as a society of the "fittest and best." The struggle for existence is always present with all organisms. It goes on without any knowledge on their part of the laws and conditions that shape it. This struggle for existence prevails among men also and among the members of each social group from which solidarity has disappeared, or where it has not yet been developed. This struggle for existence changes its form according to the various relations of men to one another in the course of human development. It assumes the character of class struggles on an ever higher scale. But these struggles—and thereby man is distinguished from all other human beings—lead to a growing understanding of the nature of society, and finally to a recognition of the laws which determine its development. **Eventually man will but need to apply these laws to his social and political institutions and to transform them accordingly.** The difference is that man may be called a reasoning animal, but the animal is not a reasoning human being. This many Darwinists fail to see, owing to their biased conceptions, and therefore arrive at false conclusions.*

*Enrico Ferri published a book on "Socialism and Modern Science, Darwin—Spencer—Marx," in which he proves, especially in answer to Haeckel, that Darwinism and Socialism are in complete harmony and that it is a grave error on Haeckel's part to characterize Darwinism as being a r i s t o c r a t i c. We do not agree with Ferri's book in every respect. We especially do not share his point of view in judging the qualities of women, which is, in the main, the point of Lombroso and Ferrero. Ellis has shown in "Man and Woman" that

Professor Haeckel and his adherents also deny that Darwinism leads to atheism. Thus, after they have done away with the "creator" by all their scientific arguments and proofs, they maks desperate efforts to re-introduce him. To attain this purpose a new sort of individual "religion" is formed, that has been termed "higher morality," "moral principles," etc. In 1882 at the congress of scientists in Eisenach, in the presence of the Grand-duke of Weimar and his family, Professor Haeckel endeavored not only to save religion but also to represent his master, Darwin, as being a religious man. The attempt failed, as anyone can affirm who read the lecture and the letter from Darwin that was quoted in it. Darwin's letter expresses, though in careful terms, the opposite of what Professor Haeckel claimed it to express. Darwin was obliged to consider the piety of his fellow-countrymen, the English, therefore he never dared to express publicly his true views in regard to religion. But he did so privately, as became known shortly after the congress in Weimar, for he told Dr. L. Buechner **that he had not believed since his fortieth year—since 1849—because he had not been able to obtain proofs to justify belief.** During the last years of his life Darwin also supported an atheistic newspaper, which was published in New York.

Woman and the Learned Professions.

Women are justified in entering into intellectual competition with men, instead of waiting until it pleases the men to develop their intellectual faculties and to clear the path for them. The woman's movement is providing for this. Already women have removed many barriers and

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an existing difference in the qualities of man and woman does not imply the inferiority of one—a confirmation of Kant's utterance, that only man and woman t o g e t h e r constitute the complete human being. Nevertheless Ferri's book is a welcome one.

have entered the intellectual arena—in some countries with marked success. The movement to obtain admission to the higher institutions of learning and to the practice of learned professions is, in accordance with the nature of our conditions, limited to the circles of bourgeois women. The proletarian women are not directly concerned since, for the time being, these studies and the resulting positions are closed to them. Nevertheless, this movement and its success is an object of general interest. In the first place, it is a matter of principle, since it affects the general position of woman; in the second place, it is destined to show what women can accomplish even at present, under conditions that are highly unfavorable to their development. Moreover, all women are interested, for instance, in being able, in case of sickness, to be treated by physicians of their own sex, if they so choose, since many feel that they can confide with less reserve in a woman than in a man. To a great many of our women female physicians are a blessing, for the fact that they must turn to male physicians in the case of diseases or ailments connected with their sex functions, frequently prevents them from seeking medical aid in time. This leads to many troubles and serious results, not only to the women themselves, but to their husbands also. There is hardly a physician who has not had some experience with this reticence of women, that may sometimes be called almost criminal, and their aversion against confessing to their ailments. That is readily understood. But it is inconceivable that the men, and especially many physicians also, will not recognize how justifiable it is, therefore—indeed how necessary—for women to study medicine.

Female physicians are no novel factor. Among most of the ancients, especially among the ancient Germans, women practiced the art of healing. There were female physicians and surgeons of note during the ninth and tenth centuries in the kingdom of the Arabs, especially in Spain, under the rule of the Arabs (Moors), where they studied at the University of Cordova. The study of women at various Italian universities, as Bologna and Palermo, was also due to Moorish influence. When the

"neathen" influence ceased in Italy, these studies were prohibited. In 1377 the faculty of the University of Bologna issued the following decree: "As woman is the source of sin, the devil's tool, the cause of the expulsion from paradise, and the cause of corruption of the old law, and as therefore every conversation with her should be carefully avoided, we distinctly forbid and interdict any one to venture to introduce any woman, no matter how respectable she may be, into this college. Should some one do so nevertheless, the rector shall punish him severely."

One good result of the study of women is, that female competition has a very stimulating influence on the studiousness of the male students, which has left much to be wished for, as has been affirmed by various sources. That alone would be a great gain. It would furthermore considerably improve their habits. The drunkenness, pugnacity, and beer-saloon habit of our students would become greatly checked. Those places from which our statesmen, judges, public attorneys, police officials, ministers, representatives of the people, etc., are chiefly recruited, would become more worthy of the objects for which they were founded and are being maintained. According to the impartial opinions of those competent to judge, such an improvement is exceedingly needful.

The number of states that admit women to their high-schools and universities are rapidly increasing since a few decades. None that lays claim to being a civilized state can offer continued resistance to this demand. The United States took the lead and Russia followed, two states that are diametrically opposed to one another in every respect. In the North American Union women have been admitted to high-schools and universities in all the states; in Utah since 1850; in Iowa since 1860; in Kansas since 1866; in Wisconsin since 1868; in Minnesota since 1869; in California and Missouri since 1870, and in Ohio, Illinois and Nebraska since 1871. Since then all the other states followed. Quite in accordance with their opportunity for study, the women in the United States have achieved their positions. According to the census of 1900 there were: 7399 female physicians and sur-

geons, 5989 writers, 1041 architects, 3405 ministers, 1010 lawyers, and 327,905 teachers.

In Europe, Switzerland took the lead in opening its universities to women. The following shows the number of male and female students at Swiss universities:

	Total	Enrolled female students	Total number of women attending courses
1896-1897	7676	1502	2757
1900-1901	8521	1904	3156
1905-1906	4181	391	728
1906-1907	5301	854	1429

During the term 1906 to 1907 the female students were distributed as follows among the various faculties: law, 75; medicine, 1181; philosophy, 648. According to nationality there were 172 Swiss women, and 1732 foreigners. The number of German women students in Switzerland has decreased, since they are admitted to German universities now, although not without restrictions. During the term 1906 to 1907 the number of regularly enrolled female students constituted about 30 per cent. of all the students. In England women are admitted to lecture at the universities, but at Oxford and Cambridge they are still barred from taking degrees. In France in 1905 there were 33,168 students, among these 1922 women (774 foreigners). They were distributed as follows: Law, 57; medicine, 386; sciences, 259; literature, 838; miscellaneous, 382. The following are the countries in which women have been admitted to universities: United States, England, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, France, Turkey and Australia. Female physicians are admitted to the practice of their profession in India, Abysinnia, Persia, Morocco, China, etc. Especially in the Oriental countries female physicians are constantly gaining ground. The restrictions that custom and religion place upon women in these countries make female physicians an especially great boon.

After long struggles and great exertions, Germany, too, has at last taken a new course, though timidly at first. By a decision passed by the Federal Council on

April 24, 1899, women have been admitted to examinations for the practice of medicine and dentristry, as well as pharmacy, upon the same terms as men. By another decision of the Federal Council of July 28, 1900, German women physicians who studied abroad are admitted to practice in Germany, and studies commenced abroad were accredited to them. Even since 1898 some German universities, as Heidelberg and Goettingen, had opened their doors to women. During the term 1901 to 1902, 1270 women attending courses were already ennumerated in the registers of the universities. In a number of German cities girls' high-schools and colleges were founded; thus in Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Hannover, Koenigsberg, Hamburg, Frankfort on the Main, Breslau, Berlin, Schoeneberg, Mannheim, etc. But in the spring of 1902, the senate of the University of Berlin again declined a request by female students, to be matriculated upon presentation of a certificate of admission from a German college. The opposition by very influential circles in Germany against the study of women had not yet been overcome. During March of 1902, the Prussian minister of public instruction delivered a speech in the Prussian diet, in which he said among other things, that they girls' colleges are an experiment that must be declined by the ministry of public instruction. He feared, so he said, that the differences between man and woman established by nature and developed by civilization, would be impaired by the study of girls at colleges and universities, and that the characteristics of the German woman ought to be maintained for the welfare of the German family. That is quite in keeping with the old conception. Many German professors also continue to oppose study for women, though others admit that many of the female students are well, some even excellently qualified, to meet the demands made upon them. What some of the students, perhaps a majority of them, thought in regard to the study of women, may be seen from the following protest of the clinical students at Halle, addressed to the medical students of Germany generally during March of 1902. After it states that the protest has been caused by the agitation, carried on by

the "Society for Furthering the Education of Women in Berlin," to admit women to the study of medicine, it goes on to say: "Since this question has been called to public attention, the clinical students of Halle turn to those circles to whom the decision is of prime importance, the clinical students and physicians at German universities. They either know the resulting unpleasantness from personal experience, or can picture to **what unwholesome situations, devoid of all modesty, this common clinical instruction must lead, situations that are too revolting to be described.** The medical faculty of the university of Halle was one of the first to admit women to the study of medicine, and the innovation may be regarded as a complete failure. **Into these halls of earnest endeavor cynicism has entered with the women,** and scenes frequently occur that are equally obnoxious to instructors, students and patients. **Here the emancipation of woman becomes a calamity, conflicting with morality, and should be checked.** Colleagues, who would dare, in the face of these facts, to oppose our just demands? **We demand the exclusion of women from clinical instruction,** because experience has taught us that a common clinical instruction of male and female students is incompatible with a thoroughgoing study of medicine, as well as **with the principles of decency and morality.** This question taken up by us is no longer a local one. Already it has been stated in government circles, that women are to be definitely admitted to the study of medicine. You all now are equally interested in our cause, and therefore we appeal to you: Express your opinion on this question and join with us in a common protest!"

This protest is a striking proof of the narrow-mindedness of the clinical students and also of their envy, for petty envy is at the bottom of most of their moral considerations. How can an institution that has existed for years in other civilized countries, without injuring the morals and the sense of decency of male and female students, be considered a peril to Germany? The German students are not famed for their morality and ought

to refrain from a moral outburst that seems like a jest.* If it is not incompatible with decency and morality for female nurses to be present and to render assistance to the physicians during all kinds of operations upon male and female patients, if it is decent and proper for dozens of young men to surround, for the purpose of study, the bed of a woman in the throes of child-birth, and to witness operations upon female patients, then it is ridiculous to seek to exclude the female students.

Very different from the reasons given by the clinical students of Halle, was an argument advanced against the admission of women to the study of medicine by the late Professor Bischoff. The reason he gave was **the brutality of the male students,** which he was well qualified to judge. But, regardless of the narrow-mindedness or envy of men, the question has been decided in favor of the women. On August 18, 1908, an edict was published, decreeing the regular enrollment of female students at the universities of Prussia, where until then they had been admitted to the lectures. The only restriction is, that for the purpose of immatriculation German women require the consent of the minister in one case, and foreigners require it in all cases.** The entire number of women students enrolled at German universities was, during the term of 1908-1909, 1077, as against 377 during the summer of 1908, and 254 in 1906. They were distributed among the various universities as follows: Berlin, 400; Bonn, 69; Breslau, 50; Erlangen, 11; Freiburg, 67; Giessen, 23; Goettingen, 71; Greifswald, 5; Halle, 22; Heidelberg, 109; Jena, 13; Kiel, 2; Koenigsberg, 17; Leipsic, 44; Marburg, 27; Munich, 134; Tuebingen, 6; Wuerzburg, 7. Only the universities of Strassburg, Rostock and Muenster had no female students. The entire number of women attending courses was 1787 dur-

*A statistic compiled by Blaschko gives the following information in regard to the extension of sexual diseases among the various occupations. First come the secret prostitutes with 30 per cent; then the students with 25 per cent; merchants with 16, and workingmen with 9 per cent.

**In special cases women may be excluded from certain lectures with the consent of the minister of education.

ing the summer of 1908, and 1767 during the term 1908 to 1909. They were distributed as follows: Berlin, 313; Strassburg, 249; Breslau, 168; Munich, 131; Bonn, 120; Koenigsberg, 116; Leipsic, 95; Giessen, 93; Goettingen, 73; Tuebingen, 67; Halle, 54; Freiburg, 50, and in all others less than 50. Of the regularly enrolled women students 3 studied theology; 31, law; 334, medicine, and 709, philosophy.

The admission of women to the universities necessitated a thoroughgoing reform of girls' high-schools. According to the provisions of May 31, 1899, a nine years' course had been set down as the rule for girls' high-schools, while a ten years' course was the exception. But development necessitated the regular introduction of a tenth class. According to statistics there were in 1901, 213 public high-schools for girls; among these 90 had a nine years' course and 54 a ten years' course. In October, 1907, the number of schools having a nine years' course had decreased from 90 to 69, and the number of schools having a ten years' course had increased from 54 to 132. Among the private schools for girls, too, there were, besides 110 with a nine years' course, 138 with a ten years' course. It only remained to add the bureaucratic seal to this actual development, and to preserve as much as possible of the "characteristics of German women." According to the reform of August 18, 1908, girls' high schools shall consist of ten grades. To "complete her education in regard to the future life's work of a German woman," it is planned to found a lyceum with a course from one to two years. In order to prepare young girls of the upper classes for academic training, colleges are being planned, which are to be under the same management as the girls' high-schools.

Thereby an experiment, which the board of education still refused to consider in March 1902, is now, six years later, under the pressure of economic development, being introduced by that same board on a national scale. Let us consider the official argumentation! It reads as follows:

"The rapid development of our civilization and the resulting changes in social, economic and educational con-

ditions, have brought about that, especially in the middle and upper classes, many girls remain unprovided for, and much ability reposing in woman, that may be valuable to the community, remains unapplied. The numerical superiority of the female population and the increasing bachelorhood of men of the upper classes, compel a large percentage of educated girls to renounce their natural profession of wifehood and motherhood. It becomes necessary to open professions to them that are suited to their education, and to give them an opportunity to earn their living, not only by teaching, but also by other professions attainable by a university education." This almost reads like an extract from my book!

Be this as it may, the higher education of women can no longer be halted. There are female physicians in all civilized countries of the world, and even in some that are not yet regarded as civilized. The late Li Hung Chang had appointed as his family physician a Chinese woman doctor who practiced at the woman's hospital of her native town, Futchang. The late Sonia Kowalewska, the noted mathematician, was professor of mathematics at the University of Stockholm from 1889 until her death in 1891. There are many women professors in the United States, and some also in Italy, Switzerland, England and France. In France the famous Marie Curie, who together with her husband discovered radium and polonium, was, after the death of her husband in 1906, appointed his successer at the university. We see women acting as physicians, dentists, lawyers, chemists, physicists, geologists, botanists, teachers at higher institutions of learning, etc., and it is up to the women themselves to prove by their achievements, that they are as competent to fill the positions entrusted to them as men. In Switzerland, during the summer of 1899, a majority of voters in the Canton of Zurich, favored the admission of women to the practice of law. The decision was passed by 21,717 against 20,046 votes. In the United States women are admitted to the bar in 34 states. They are also admitted in France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Russia, Canada and Australia.

Many men, especially learned men, are opposed to the

higher education of women, because they believe that the sciences will become degraded if even women can practice them. They regard scientific study as a privilege reserved for the chosen few of the male sex.

Unfortunately our universities, as our entire educational system, still leave much to be wished for. As the children in the public schools are frequently robbed of the most valuable time to cram their brains with a lot of things that are not in conformity with reason and scientific knowledge, as they are burdened with a lot of learning that will prove useless in life and will rather hamper than help their development, thus it is also with our higher institutions of learning. In the preparatory schools the pupils are crammed with a lot of useless stuff, mostly learned by rote, that absorbs most of their time and strength, and in the universities the same method is generally pursued. Besides good and useful things, many that are antiquated and superfluous continue to be taught. Most professors repeat the same lectures term after term even down to the interspersed jokes. To many the noble profession of teaching becomes a mere trade, and it does not require much intelligence on the part of the students to perceive this. The prevailing conceptions concerning college life also prevent the young people from taking their studies too seriously, and some who would like to take them seriously are repulsed by the pedantic and uninteresting methods of many professors. It is generally admitted that students at high-schools and universities are becoming less studious, a fact that has caused some alarm among the authorities. Alongside of this we find toadyism and patronage playing an important part at our institutions of learning in this age, which is marked by a lack of character. To be of good family and to have "sound principles," is regarded as being of greater importance than knowledge and ability. A patriot—that is, one who has no convictions of his own, but takes his cue from his superiors and fawns upon them—is considered more than a man of character, wisdom and ability. When examinations come around, men of this type cram for a few months what is needful to attain the passing

mark, and when the examinations have been passed successfully, and they have attained an official or professional position, many of these "scholars" merely continue to work in a mechanical way. Yet they are very insulted if a man, who is not a "scholar", does not treat them with utmost respect and fails to regard them as a superior species of human being. The majority of our professional men, lawyers, judges, physicians, professors, public officials, artists, etc., **are merely mechanics in their line, and their sole object is personal gain.** Only the industrious man discovers later on how much superfluous knowledge he assimilated and how often he failed to learn that which he requires most, and then begins to learn anew. During the best part of his life he has been bothered with much that was useless or harmful; he requires a second part of his life to cast what is useless or harmful aside and to attain the heights of the views of his time, and then only can he become a useful member of society. Many do not surpass the first stage, others come to a standstill in the second, and only few have the energy to struggle on to the third.

But decorum demands that the mediæval trash and superfluous learning should be maintained, and as women have been until now, and in many cases still are, excluded from the preparatory institutions, this fact furnishes a convenient excuse for excluding them from the lecture halls of the universities. In Leipsic, during the seventies, one of the most noted professors of medicine made the following frank confession to a lady: **"A classical education is not essential to an understanding of medicine, but it must be made a condition of entrance to maintain the dignity of science."**

Opposition against an obligatory, classical education as being essential to the study of medicine, is gradually manifesting itself in Germany also. The tremendous advance of the sciences and their great importance to life in general, necessitates a scientific training. But the classical education, with its special preference of Greek and Latin, considers science unimportant and neglects it. It therefore frequently happens that young students are wanting in the most elementary scientific knowl-

edge, that is of decisive importance for a study like medicine. Even teachers themselves are beginning to oppose this one-sided method of education. In other countries, for instance, in Switzerland, the study of science has long since been held as being of prime importance, and all who possess sufficient preliminary knowledge in the natural sciences and mathematics are admitted to the study of medicine, even without having had a so-called classical education. The same is true of Russia, the United States, and other countries.

In Russia, where suppression and persecution of the Jews is considered one of the maxims of government, an imperial ukase, in 1907, prescribed that in the newly established school of medicine for women, only 5 per cent. of the students might be of other than Christian faith. Of these only 3 per cent. might be Jewesses, and the remaining 2 per cent. were to be reserved for students of Moslem origin. This is one of the retrogressive measures which are daily occurrences in Russia. The Russian government certainly had no cause for such provisions, because there is quite a dearth of physicians in that tremendous realm, and because the Russian women practitioners, regardless of their faith or origin, have been noted for the most unselfish devotion in the practice of their profession. Dr. Erismann, who practiced in Russia for many years, delivered a lecture at the 54th annual convention of the Medical Society in Olten, in which he said: Very favorable were the experiences gathered during the first years in regard to the activity of the female physicians. From the very beginning they were enabled to win the confidence of the people. In the noble competition with their male colleagues they even carried off the laurels. It was soon observed that the female physicians, on an average, treated more patients annually than the male physicians, although the latter proved very efficient and unselfish, likewise. Female patients especially, in great numbers, sought aid with the women doctors."*

*The organization of free clinical treatment of patients in the large cities of Russia.—German Quarterly of Public Hygiene.

On the other hand, female competition, so much feared by men, especially in regard to the practice of medicine, has not been in evidence. It seems that female physicians obtain a circle of patients from their own sex who apply to male physicians rarely, or only in cases of extreme necessity. It has, moreover, been observed that a great many women physicians abandon their profession as soon as they enter into marriage. It seems that in present-day society the domestic duties of married women are so numerous, especially where there are children, that many women find it impossible to have two professions simultaneously. A physician must be constantly prepared, by day and by night, to practice her profession, and to many that becomes impossible.*

After England,** the United States and France took lead in employing women as factory inspectors—an innovation that has become all the more necessary because, as has been shown, the number of women in industry is rapidly increasing, and the industries employing women, chiefly or exclusively, are increasing likewise—a number of German states have also followed their example. Baden, Bavaria, Hessia, the Kingdom of Saxony, Weimar, Wurtemberg, and others have added women assistants to their factory inspectors, and some of these have already achieved much recognition by their activity. In Prussia there are three women factory inspectors in Berlin, and one each in Duesseldorf, Breslau and Wiesbaden. This proves again how the progress of Prussia has been retarded compared with other German states. There is not a single woman assistant in dis-

*What difficulties are entailed for women who have a family and at the same time wish to, or have to, practice a trade or profession, has been ably shown in the book by Adele Gerhard and Helen Simon: "Maternity and Intellectual Occupations" (Berlin, 1901, George Reimer). It contains the personal experiences and opinions of writers, artists, singers, actresses, etc., and these opinions prove that society must be completely reorganized to give full play to the great amount of female intelligence that exists and strives for expression, since it is in the interest of society itself that it should be given full play.

**According to the last report for 1908, England has 16 female factory inspectors, Miss A. M. Anderson and 15 assistants.

tricts like Potsdam (with 32,299 working women), Frankfort on the Oder (with 31,371), Liegnitz (with 31,798), and others, where their presence is extremely needful. Here, too, it has been seen that working women confide more readily in members of their own sex, and that female factory inspectors have been able to obtain much information that was denied to their male colleagues. One shortcoming of this institution is that the assistants frequently are not given the autonomy that is needful in their position, and their pay is not what it ought to be, either. The new institution is being tried out carefully and hesitatingly.*

In Germany the prejudice and aversion against employing women in public offices is particularly strong, because so many retired military men annually seek appointments to all kinds of offices in the state and municipal administrations, that there is hardly any room left for applicants from other circles. When women are employed, nevertheless, their salary is considerably lower, whereby they immediately appear as being worth less than men, and whereby they also become a means to keep down wages and salaries.

The great variety of female ability could be observed especially well at the World's Fair in Chicago, in 1893. The splendid woman's building had been entirely planned by female architects, and the articles displayed that had been designed and made by women exclusively, were much admired for their tasty and artistic execution. In the realm of invention, too, women have achieved much and will achieve still more. An American trade-journal published a list of inventions by women; among them were: An improved spinning machine; a rotary loom, which produces three times as much as the usual kind; a chain elevator; a connecting-rod for a propeller; a fire-escape; an apparatus for weighing wool, one of the most delicate machines that have ever been invented, of immeasurable value to the wool industry; a fire extin-

*The first woman factory inspector was appointed in Bavaria in 1897. From then until 1909 the number of woman factory inspectors rose to 26. Fourteen states had until then not appointed any.

guisher; a process of employing petroleum as a fuel for steam-engines instead of wood or coal; an improved spark-catcher for locomotives; a signal for grade-crossings; a system of heating cars without fire; a lubricating felt to diminish friction (on railroads); a typewriter; a signal-rocket for the navy; a deep-sea telescope; a system for subduing the noise of the elevated trains; a smoke-consumer; a machine for folding paper bags, etc. Many improvements on sewing machines have been made by women; for instance, an appliance for sewing canvas and coarse cloth; an apparatus for threading the needle while the machine is running; an improvement of machines for sewing leather, etc. The last-named invention was made by a woman who was a harness-maker in New York. The deep-sea telescope, invented by Mrs. Mather and improved by her daughter, is an invention of great importance, since it makes it possible to examine the keel of the largest vessel without bringing same into a dry-dock. With the aid of this telescope sunken wrecks may be examined from ship-board, obstacles to navigation and torpedoes may be located, and so forth.

A machine famed in America and Europe for its complicated and ingenious construction, is one for the manufacture of paper bags. Many men, among them noted mechanicians, had tried in vain to construct a machine of this sort. It was invented by a woman, Miss Maggie Knight. The same lady has since invented a machine for the folding of paper bags, which performs the labor of thirty persons. She personally conducted the construction of this machine in Amherst, Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XV.

The Legal Status of Women.

1.—The Struggle for Equality Before the Law.

The social dependence of a race, class, or sex, always finds expression in the laws and political conditions of the country in question. The laws of a country are the

formulated expression of its ruling interests. **Women, being the dependent and oppressed sex, find their legal status mapped out to them accordingly.** Laws are both negative and positive. They are negative by failing to take notice of the oppressed in the distribution of rights. They are positive inasmuch as they point out his dependent position and denote whatever exceptions there may be.

Our common law is founded on the Roman law, which considers the human being solely in his quality as a propertied being. The old German law, that dealt more favorably with women, has maintained its influence only to a slight extent. In the French language, as in the English language, human being and the male are denoted by the same word, "l'homme"—man. In the same way, the French law only recognizes the man as a human being, and, until a few decades ago, this was true also of England, where women were maintained in abject dependence. It was the same in ancient Rome. There were Roman citizens and wives of Roman citizens, but no Roman citizenesses.

In Germany the legal status of women has been somewhat improved, inasmuch as the great variety of existing laws have been replaced by a uniform law, whereby rights enjoyed by women here and there have been made general. Thereby, unmarried women were admited to guardianship; women were permitted to act as witnesses, to sign contracts, and to carry on a business independently. Both husband and wife are entitled to the common ownership of each other's property, unless the demands made by either party may be regarded as an abuse of his or her rights. If there are conflicting opinions between them on this subject, the decision rests with the **husband,** who also is entitled to determine the place of residence. If the husband should abuse this right, the wife is exempt from obedience. The sole management of the household rests with the wife. She has the so-called power of the keys, which empowers her, within her domestic sphere, to attend to her husband's affairs and to represent him. The husband is liable for his wife's debts. But the wife's power of the keys may

be restricted, or entirely abolished, by her husband. Should he abuse his power, this limitation may be annulled by the courts. The wife is obliged to do the housework and to perform tasks in her husband's business, but only where such occupations are customary, in accordance with the husband's standard of living. A demand to establish, as the rule, separate rights of ownership by husband and wife, was declined by the Diet. This can only be obtained by means of the marriage contract, which is usually neglected, and may lead to disagreements later on. Instead, community of management was established. The husband is thereby entitled to dispose of his wife's property, while she is limited to her dowry. On the other hand, the wife has unrestricted control over whatever she may earn during marriage, by personal labor or in business. The husband has no right to deprive the wife of her earnings or her dowry. The wife may also demand security, in case she has good reason to fear that her property is endangered, which she may sometimes learn too late. She may also enter a complaint to have the common ownership abolished, if her husband should fail to provide for her and her children. The husband is liable for damage resulting from mismanagement.

The wife may be grievously wronged by the existing divorce laws. For, in case of divorce, the joint earnings of husband and wife belong to the husband, **even if he is the guilty party,** and if most of their common property has been earned by the wife. But the woman is entitled to alimony, according to her station, only if it can be shown that she is not able to maintain her standard of living by means of her own property or earnings.

Paternal control has been replaced by the joint control of both parents, but in case of disagreement between the parents, the decision rests with the father. In case of the father's death, parental control, including the management and use of the child's property, devolves on the mother. A divorced woman has no right to represent her children legally, or to control their property, even if the children have been awarded to her, while the father continues to enjoy full parental rights.

In England, until 1870, according to the common law, a husband was entitled to all the personal property of his wife. Only real estate remained her property by law, but even this the husband was entitled to manage and to use. The English woman was a mere cipher before the law. She could not sign any legal document, not even a will. She was her husband's chattel. If she committed any crime in her husband's presence, he was held responsible for it, since she was regarded as a minor. In case she damaged any one's property, the damage was viewed as if done by a **domestic animal**; her husband was answerable for it. In 1888 Bishop J. N. Wood delivered a lecture in the chapel at Westminster, in which he said, among other things, that as late as a century ago English women had not been permitted to eat at their husbands' table, nor to speak until they were spoken to. As a symbol of his marital power, a whip hung above the bed, that the husband was permitted to wield when the wife was not as docile as her lord desired her to be. Only her daughters were obliged to obey her. By her sons she was regarded as a servant.

By the laws of 1870, 1882 and 1893, the woman is not only entitled to all the property brought into marriage by her, she is also entitled to everything she may obtain during marriage by her earnings, by inheritance, or by gift. This legal relation can be modified only by special agreement between husband and wife. In this respect English legislation has followed the example set by the United States. By the Custody of Infants' Act, of 1886, in case of the father's death, parental control devolves on the mother. The Intestate Estates Act, of 1890, still gives the man a privileged position. Both husband and wife are free to dispose of their property by their last will and testament. But if the wife dies intestate, all her personal property belongs to her husband; while,if the husband dies intestate, his widow is entitled to only one-third of his personal property and income on real estate; the remainder belongs to his children. Many remnants of the old mediaeval law remain in force that greatly impair the legal status of married women. As we have seen, the divorce laws are still highly unfavorable to

women. If a man commits adultery, that alone is no ground for divorce for the woman, but only in connection with cruelty, bigamy, rape, etc.*

The civil law is especially unfavorable to women in France, and in all those countries—mostly Romanic countries—that are strongly influenced by the French "code civil," or where it has been adopted in full, with some modifications. This is the case in Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Russian Poland, the Netherlands, and in most of the cantons of Switzerland. There is a saying by Napoleon I. that is characteristic of his conception of the position of women, and that still holds true; it is: "One thing is not French, a woman who may do as she pleases."** As soon as a French woman marries she is placed under the guardianship of her husband. According to the Code Civil, she may not appear in court without the consent of her husband, not even if she is connected with a lawsuit. The husband shall protect his wife, and the wife shall obey her husband. He controls the property brought into marriage by his wife; he may sell, rent, or mortgage same, without being obliged to ask her consent. The result is, that women frequently live in a condition of absolute servitude. A man may spend his wife's earnings on drink, or on frivolous women; he may gamble and run into debt, leaving his wife and children in want; he is even entitled to demand from an employer the wages his wife has earned. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that many women prefer to desist from marriage, as was frequently seen in France.

In most Romanic countries women cannot act as witnesses to legal documents, contracts, wills, etc. In France this was the case until 1897. But they are permitted—by a strange inconsistency— to act as witnesses at court in all criminal cases, where their testimony may perhaps lead to the execution of a human being. **In criminal law woman is everywhere regarded as man's**

*A. Chapman and M. Chapman—The Status of Women under the English Law. London, 1909.

**L. Bridel—La puissance maritale. Lausanne, 1879.

equal, and crimes and transgressions committed by her are measured by the same standard as those committed by man. Our law-makers seem blissfully unconscious of this glaring inconsistency. As a widow, a woman may make her will, but in a great many states she is not admitted as a witness to a will, yet she may be appointed as executrix. In Italy women are admitted as witnesses in civil law since 1877.

The privileged position of men is especially manifest in the divorce laws. According to the "Code Civil," in France a man might obtain a divorce if his wife committed adultery; but a woman could not obtain it, unless her husband had brought his concubine into their home. This article has been changed by the divorce law of July, 27, 1884, but in French criminal law the distinction has been maintained, which is very characteristic of the French law-makers. If a woman has been convicted of adultery she is punishable by imprisonment of from three months to two years. But the man is punishable only if he has maintained a concubine in his own household, as per the former article of the "Code Civil." If found guilty, his only punishment is a fine of from 100 to 2000 francs. Such inequality before the law would be impossible if there were women in the parliament of France. Similar laws are in force in Belgium. The penalty for adultery when committed by a woman is the same as in France. The man goes unpunished, unless adultery has been committed by him in his and his wife's domicile; in that event he may be punished by imprisonment of from one month to one year. In Belgium the injustice is not quite as glaring as in France, but in both countries we find one standard of law for the man and another one for the woman. Under the influence of French law similar provisions have been made in Spain and Portugal. According to the civil law of Italy, enacted in 1865, a woman cannot obtain a divorce on the ground of adultery, unless her husband maintains his concubine in his own home, or in a place where her presence appears as a particular insult to the wife. In 1907, together with the enactment of June 21, which has modified a number of articles of the Code Civil in regard to mar-

riage, both chambers finally adopted the law of July 13, whereby the wife became the sole owner of property earned by her, or obtained by inheritance or gift. The husband has been deprived of his former control over the personal property of his wife. That is the first breach in French law, and thereby French women have obtained the same legal status that was obtained for English women by the law of 1870.

Much more advanced than the "Code Civil" and more advanced also than German civil law, is the new civil law of Switzerland that was adopted on December 10, 1907, and will come into force on January 1, 1912. Until now the various cantons of Switzerland had their own laws. In Geneva, Waadt, and Italian Switzerland they were partly founded on the "Code Civil." In Bern and Lucerne they were founded on Austrian law, and in Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, etc., the old common law prevailed. Now Switzerland is to have a uniform code of laws. The freedom of the wife and the children is assured. The new law provides that the wife is entitled to one-third of her husband's income, even if she is only occupied as his assistant or housekeeper. In regard to inheritance, also, the laws are more favorable to women than the German laws. When a man dies, his wife is not only entitled to one-half of his property, but also, together with the man's parents, to the lifelong use of the income from the other half. If people owe money to a man who fails to provide for his wife and children, the judge may instruct them to pay these debts, not to the man himself, but to his wife. The law no longer forbids a divorced person to marry the person with whom he has committed adultery. The property rights of married persons are mainly determined by the marriage contract that may be drawn up by both before and during marriage. Illegitimate children—in cases where the mother had been given a promise of marriage—are not only entitled to alimony from their father, as according to the new German law, but they are also entitled to their father's name, and thereby obtain the full rights of legitimate children.

Swedish women are given full control over their own

earnings by a law of Dec. 11, 1874. In Denmark a similar law was enacted in 1880. According to Danish law no claims may be made on a woman's property for the payment of her husband's debts. The Norwegian law of 1888 and the Finnish law of 1889 are quite similar. The married woman has the same control over her property as the unmarried woman; only some exceptions are provided for that are stated in the law. In the Norwegian law it is clearly stated, **that the woman becomes a dependent by marriage.**

"In the Scandinavian countries, as elsewhere, this universal movement to extend the property rights of women originated in the same way as it did in England: through the **gainful employment** of married women. The ruling classes were far more willing to abandon the patriarchial superiority of the common man over his working wife, than that of the man from their own ranks over his propertied wife."*

In the law of May 27, 1908, Danish legislation advanced still another step. If a husband and father fails to provide for his family, the wife and children may have the sum, awarded to them by the authorities, advanced out of the public funds.

In most countries the father has the sole control over the children and the right to determine their education. Only in some countries the mother is given joint control with the father in a more or less subordinate way. The old Roman principle, whereby the father had complete power over his children, everywhere forms the key-note of legislation.

In Russia married women have some control over their property, but as bread-winners they remain utterly subservient to their husbands. No pass—which is absolutely essential for any change of residence—is ever issued to a married woman without her husband's consent. In order to accept a position or to practice any trade or profession, she must also have her husband's permission. Divorce is made so difficult, that it can be obtained only in very rare cases. The position of Russian women was

*Marianne Weber—Wife and Mother in the Evolution of Law. Tubingen, 1907.

much more independent formerly in the old peasant communities, which was due to the remaining communistic institutions or to the reminiscences of these institutions. The peasant woman was the manager of her own estate. Communism is the most favorable social condition for women. We have seen this from our exposition of the matriarchal period.*

In theUnited States the women have succeeded in winning almost complete equality before the law; they have also prevented the introduction of English and other laws regulating prostitution.

2.—The Struggle for Political Equality.

The evident inequality of women before the law has caused the more advanced among them to demand political rights, in order to attain their equality by means of legislation. The same thought has also led the working class to direct their agitation toward the conquest of political power. What is right for the working class, cannot be wrong for the women. Being oppressed, devoid of rights and, in many instances, disregarded, it is not only their right, but their duty to defend themselves and to adopt any method that appears good to them, so that they may win an independent position. Of course these endeavors are opposed by the usual reactionary croakings. Let us see to what extent these are justified.

Women possessing eminent intellectual abilities have

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*The correctness of this conception may be seen from the comedy by Aristophanes, "The Popular Assembly of Women." In this comedy Aristophanes depicts how the Athenian state was so mismanaged that no one knew what to do. In the popular assembly of the citizens of Athens the prytanes submit the question how the state is to be saved. A woman, disguised as a man, moves to entrust the government to the women, and this motion is carried without resistance, "because it was the only thing not yet tried in Athens." The women proceed to steer the ship of state and immediately introduce communism. Of course, Aristophanes ridicules this condition, but the characteristic part of his play is, that he has the women introduce communism as the only rational social organization from their point of view, as soon as they come into power. Aristophanes had no idea of how much truth was in his jest.

influenced politics at all times and among all peoples, even where they were not endowed with the power of sovereigns. Even the papal court was not exempt from this. If they could not exert any influence by means of the rights conceded to them, they did so by their intellectual superiority, even by intrigues. For many centuries their influence was particularly strong at the court of France, as also at the Spanish and Italian courts. At the close of the seventeenth century, at the court of Philip V. of Spain, Marie of Trémonille, Countess of Bracciano and Princess of Ursin, was the prime-minister of Spain for thirteen years, and during this time very ably conducted Spanish politics. As the mistresses of rulers, many women have succeeded in obtaining a great political influence; we need but mention the well-known names of Maintenon, the mistress of Louis XIV., and Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV. The great intellectual awakening of the eighteenth century, that produced men like Montesquieu, Voltaire, d'Allembert, Holbach, Helvetius, La Mettrie, Rousseau, and many others, did not fail to affect the women. This great movement, which questioned the justification of the fundamental principles of the state and feudal society and helped to undermine them, may have been joined by some women to follow the fashion, to satisfy their love of intrigue, or for other unworthy motives. But a great many women were impelled to take part in this movement by their profound interest and enthusiasm for its noble aims. Decades before the outbreak of the great revolution, which swept over France like a purifying cloud-burst, tore the old order asunder and cast it down, causing jubilation among the most advanced minds of the age, women had thronged into the scientific and political clubs, where philosophical, scientific, religious, social and political problems were discussed with unwonted daring, and had taken part in the discussions. When at length, in July, 1789, the storming of the Bastille ushered in the great revolution, women of the upper classes and women of the common people participated actively and exerted a very noticeable influence both for and against it. They participated excessively in both good and evil wherever an

opportunity presented itself. The majority of historians have taken more notice of the excesses of the revolution than of its great and noble deeds. These excesses, by the way, were only too natural, for they were the result of tremendous exasperation at the unspeakable corruption, the exploitation, the imposition, the baseness and villany of the ruling classes. Under the influence of these biased descriptions, Schiller wrote the lines: "And women there become hyenas and mock at horror and despair." And yet in those years women have set so many noble examples of heroism, magnanimity, and admirable self-sacrifice, that to write an impartial book on "the women in the great revolution," would mean the erection of a noble monument in their honor.* According to Michelet, women even were the van-guard of the revolution. The general poverty and want from which the French people suffered under the predatory and disgraceful rule of the Bourbon kings, especially affected the women, as is always the case under similar conditions. Being excluded from almost every decent means of support, tens of thousands of them fell victims to prostitution. To this was added the famine of 1789, which increased the suffering of women and children to the utmost. This famine led them to storm the town-hall in October and to march in masses to Versailles, the seat of the court. It also caused a number of them to petition the national assembly "that the equality between man and woman be reinstated, that work and employment be opened to them and that they be given positions suited to their abilities." As the women recognized that they needed power to win their rights, but that they could attain power only by organizing and by standing together in great numbers, they organized women's clubs throughout France, some of which had a surprisingly large membership, and also took part in the men's meetings. While brilliant Madame Roland preferred to play a leading political part among the 'statesmen" of the French Revolution, the Girondistes, passionate and eloquent Olympe de Gouges took

*Emma Adler—Famous Women of the French Revolution Vienna, 1906.

the leadership of the women of the people and espoused their cause with all the enthusiasm of her fervent temperament.

When the assembly proclaimed "the rights of man" (les droits de l'homme), in 1793, she promptly recognized that they were only rights of men. In opposition to these, Olympe de Gouges, together with Rose Lacombe and others, wrote "The rights of Women," in seventeen articles. On the 28 Brumaire (November 20, 1793), she defended the rights before the Paris Commune, with arguments that are still fully justified. In her argumentation the following sentence, characteristic of the situation, was contained: "If a woman has the right to mount the scaffold she must also have the right to mount the platform." Her demands remained unfulfilled. But her reference to the right of woman to mount a scaffold met with bloody confirmation. Her defence of the rights of women on the one hand, and her struggle against the atrocities of the assembly on the other, made her appear ripe for the scaffold to the assembly. She was beheaded on the 3d of November, of the same year. Five days later Madame Roland was beheaded, also. Both went to their death heroically. Shortly before these executions, on October 17, 1793, the assembly had shown its attitude of hostility toward women by deciding to suppress all the women's clubs. Later on, when the women continued to protest against the wrong perpetrated against them, they were even forbidden to attend the assembly and the public meetings, and were treated as rebels.

When monarchical Europe marched against France, and the assembly declared "the fatherland to be in danger," Parisian women offered to do what was done twenty years later by enthusiastic Prussian women, to bear arms in defence of the fatherland, thereby hoping to prove their right to equality. But they were opposed in the commune by the radical Chaumette, who addressed them thus: "Since when are women permitted to deny their sex and to make men of themselves? Since when is it customary for them to neglect the tender care of their households, to forsake the cradles of their children, to come into public places, to speak from platforms, to en-

ter the ranks of the army, with one word, to perform those duties which nature has destined man to perform? Nature has said to the man: 'Be a man! The races, the hunt, agriculture, politics, all exertions are your **privilege.**' She has said to the woman: 'Be a woman! The care of your children, the details of the household, the sweet restlessness of motherhood, these are your **tasks.**' Foolish women, why do you seek to become men? Are human beings not properly divided? What more do you ask? In the name of Nature, remain what you are, and far from envying us our stormy lives, make us forget them in the midst of our families by letting our eyes rest upon the lovely sight of our children, happy in your tender care." Undoubtedly the radical Chaumette expressed the opinion held by most men. It is generally considered an appropriate division of labor that men defend the country and women care for hearth and home. For the rest the oratorical effusion of Chaumette consists of mere phrases. It is not true that man has borne the burdens of agriculture. From primeval days down to the present woman has contributed a large share to agriculture. The exertions of the hunt and the races are no "exertions," but a pleasure to men, and politics entails dangers only for those who combat current opinions, while to others it offers at least as much pleasure as exertion. Nothing but the egotism of man finds expression in this speech.

Aims similar to those pursued by the Encyclopedists and the great revolution in France found expression in the United States, when, during the seventies and eighties of the eighteenth century, the colonists won their struggle for independence from England and established a democratic constitution. At that time, Mercy Ottis Warren and the wife of the second president of the United States, Mrs. Adams, together with a few other women, favored political equality. It was due to their influence that the State of New Jersey bestowed the right of suffrage upon women, of which it deprived them again in 1807. In France, even before the outbreak of the revolution, Condorcet, later a Girondist, published a brilliantly written essay in favor of woman's suffrage and the political equality of both sexes.

Inspired by the great events in the neighboring country, it was brave Mary Wollstonecraft, born in 1759, who proclaimed woman's cause at the other side of the channel. In 1790 she wrote a book in opposition to Burke, one of the most vehement opponents of the French Revolution, in which she defended the rights of man. Soon after she proceeded to demand the rights of man for her own sex. In her book, published in 1792, "A Vindication of the Rights of Women," she severely criticised her own sex, but demanded and bravely defended complete equality for women in behalf of the common welfare. She met with vehement opposition and was subjected to severe and unjust attacks. Heart-broken by bitter inward struggles, she died in 1797, misunderstood and ridiculed by her contemporaries.

At the same time, when the first serious endeavors to obtain political equality for women were being made in France, England, and the United States, even in Germany, which was particularly retrogressive then, a German writer—Th. G. v. Hippel—anonymously published a book in Berlin, in 1792, on the "Civic Improvement in the Condition of Women," in which he defended the equal rights of women. At that time a book on the civic improvement in the condition of men would have been equally justified. We must therefore doubly admire the courage of this man, who, in his book, ventured to draw all the logical conclusions from social and political sex equality and defended same very ably and intelligently.

Since then the demand for political rights of women has remained dormant for a long time; but gradually it has been taken up again by the woman's movement in all countries and has become realized in a number of states. In France the St. Simonists and Fourierists favored sex equality, and, in 1848, the Fourierist Considérant moved in the constitutional committee of the French parliament to bestow equal political rights upon women. In 1851, Pierre Leroux repeated the motion in the chamber, but likewise unsuccessfully.

At present matters have an entirely different aspect. The development of our social conditions and all social relations have undergone a tremendous transformation

and have at the same time transformed the position of women. In all civilized states we find hundreds of thousands and millions of women employed in the most varied professions, just like men, and every year the number of women increases, who must rely on their own strength and ability in the struggle for existence. The nature of our social and political conditions, therefore, can no longer remain a matter of indifference to women. They must be interested in questions like the following: Whether or not the control of domestic and foreign affairs favor war; whether or not the state should annually keep hundreds of thousands of healthy men in the army and drive tens of thousands from the country; whether or not the necessities of life should be raised in price by taxes and duties at a time when the means of subsistence are very scarce to a great majority, etc. Women also pay direct and indirect taxes from their property and their earnings. The educational system is of the greatest interest to women, for the manner of education is a determining factor in the position of their sex; it is of special importance to mothers.

The hundreds of thousands and millions of women employed in hundreds of trades and professions are personally and vitally concerned in the nature of our social legislation. Laws relating to the length of the workday, night-work, child labor, wages, safety appliances in factories and workshops, in one word, all labor laws, as also insurance laws, etc., are of the greatest interest to working women. Workingmen are only very insufficiently informed about the conditions existing in many branches of industry in which women are chiefly or exclusively employed. It is to the interest of the employers to conceal existing evils that they have caused; and in many instances factory inspection does not include trades in which women are exclusively employed; yet in these very branches of industry protection is most needful. We need but point to the workshops in our large cities, where seamstresses, dressmakers, milliners, etc., are crowded together. We hardly ever hear a complaint from their midst, and there is no investigation of their condition. Women as bread-winners are also interested

in the commerce and custom- laws and in all civil laws. There can no longer be any doubt, that it is as important to women as it is to men, to influence the nature of our conditions by means of legislation. The participation of women in public life would give it a new impetus and open new vistas.

Demands of this sort are briefly set aside, with the reply: "Women don't understand politics; most of them do not wish to have a vote and would not know how to use it." That is both true and false. It is true that until now, in Germany, at least, not very many women have demanded political equality. The first German woman to proclaim the rights of women, as early as the sixties of the last century, was Hedwig Dohm. Recently the Socialist working women have been the chief supporters of woman's suffrage and have undertaken an active agitation for the winning of the ballot.

The argument that women have until now shown only a very moderate interest in politics, does not prove anything at all. If women have failed to care about politics formerly, that does not signify that they **ought** not to care about them now. The same arguments that are advanced against woman suffrage were, during the first half of the sixties, advanced against universal manhood suffrage. In 1863 the writer of this book himself was among those who **opposed** it. Four years later it made possible his election to the Diet. Tens of thousands experienced a similar development. Nevertheless there still are many men who either fail to make use of their political right, or do not know how to use it. Yet that would be no reason to deprive them of it. During the parliamentary elections usually from 25 to 30 per cent. of the voters fail to vote, and among these are members of all classes. While among the 70 to 75 per cent. who do vote, the majority, in our opinion, vote as they ought not to vote if they understood their own advantage. That they do not understand is due to a lack of political education. But political education is not obtained by withholding political rights from the masses. It is obtained only by the practice of political rights. Practice alone makes perfect. The ruling classes have always known it to be in their own interest

to keep the great majority of the people in political dependence. Therefore it has been the task of a determined, class conscious minority to struggle for the common good with energy and enthusiasm, and to arouse the masses from their indifference and inertia. It has been thus in all the great movements of history, and therefore it need not surprise or discourage us that it is the same with the woman's movement. The success that has been obtained so far shows, that work and sacrifice are not in vain and that the future will bring victory.

As soon as women shall have obtained equal rights with men, the consciousness of their duties will be awakened in them. When asked to vote they will begin to question "why" and "for whom."

Thereby a new source of interest will be established between man and woman that, far from harming their mutual relation, will considerably improve it. The inexperienced woman will naturally turn to the more experienced man. Therefrom an exchange of ideas and mutual instruction will result, a relation that until now has been very rare between man and woman. This will give their life a new charm. The unfortunate differences in education and conception between the sexes that frequently lead to disputes, breed discord in regard to the various duties of the man and injure the public welfare, will be adjusted more and more. A congenial and like-minded wife will support a man in his endeavors, instead of hindering him. If other tasks should prevent her from being active herself, she will encourage the man to do his duty. She will also be willing to sacrifice a fraction of the income for a newspaper and for purposes of agitation, because the newspaper will mean instruction and entertainment to her, and because she will understand that by the sacrifices for purposes of agitation, a more worthy human existence can be won for herself, her husband and her children.

Thus the common service of the public welfare, that is closely linked with the individual welfare, will elevate both man and woman. The opposite of that will be attained which is claimed by short-sighted persons or by the enemies of equal rights, and this relation between the

sexes will develop and become more beautiful as improved social conditions will liberate both man and woman from material care and excessive burdens of toil. Here, as in other cases, practice and education will help along. If I do not go into the water I will never learn to swim; if I do not study and practice a foreign language, I will never learn to speak it. That is readily understood by everyone; but many fail to understand that the same holds true of the affairs of the state and society. Are our women less capable than the inferior Negro race that was given political equality in North America? Or shall a highly cultured, educated woman be entitled to fewer rights than the most coarse and ignorant man, only because blind chance brought the latter into the world as a male being? Has the son a greater right than the mother from whom he has perhaps inherited his best qualities and who made him what he is? Such "justice" is strange, indeed.

Moreover, we are no longer risking a leap into the dark and unknown. North America, New Zealand, and Finland have paved the way. On the effects of woman suffrage in Wyoming, Justice Kingman, from Laramie, wrote to "The Woman's Journal," on November 12, 1872, as follows: "It is three years to-day that women were enfranchised in our territory and were also given the right to be elected to office, as all other voters. During this time they have taken part in the elections and have been elected to various offices; they have acted as jurors and as justices of the peace. Although there probably still are some among us who oppose the participation of women, on principle, I do not believe any one can deny that the participation of women in our elections has exerted an educational influence. The elections became more quiet and orderly, and at the same time our courts were enabled to punish various kinds of criminals who had been allowed to go unpunished until then. When the territory was orgainzed, for instance, there was hardly a person who did not carry a revolver and make use of same upon the slightest provocation. I do not remember a single case where a person had been convicted of shooting by a jury composed entirely of men; but, with two or

three women among the jurors, they always followed the instructions of the judge."

The prevailing sentiment in regard to woman suffrage in Wyoming, twenty-five years after its introduction, was expressed in a proclamation by the legislature of that state to all the legislatures of the country. It read:

> "**Whereas,** Wyoming was the first State to adopt woman suffrage, which has been in operation since 1869, and was adopted in the constitution of the State in 1890; during which time women have exercised the privilege as generally as men, with the result that better candidates have been elected for office, methods of election purified, the character of legislation improved, civic intelligence increased, and womanhood developed to a greater usefulness by political responsibility; therefore,
>
> **Resolved,** by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that, in view of these results, the enfranchisement of women in every State and Territory of the American Union is hereby recommended as a measure tending to the advancement of a higher and better social order."

It is certain that the enfranchisement of women has shown many advantageous results for Wyoming, and not one single disadvantage. That is the most splendid vindication of its introduction. The example set by Wyoming was followed by other states. Women were given full parliamentary suffrage in Colorado in 1894, in Utah in 1895, in Idaho in 1896. Women have municipal suffrage in Kansas, and school suffrage, tax-paying suffrage, etc., in a number of other states in the Union. In 1899, after the innovation had been in force in Colorado for five years, the legislature decided upon the following resolution, by 45 against 3 votes:

> "**Whereas,** equal suffrage has been in operation in Colorado for five years, during which time women have exercised the privilege as generally as men, with the result that better candidates have been selected for office, methods of election have been purified, the character of legislation improved, civic intelligence in-

creased and womanhood developed to greater usefulness by political responsibility; therefore,

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that, in view of these results, the enfranchisement of women in every State and Territory of the American Union is hereby recommended as a measure tending to the advancement of a higher and better social order."

In a number of states the legislatures have passed woman suffrage bills, but these decisions were annulled by the vote of the people. This was the case in Kansas, Oregon, Nebraska, Indiana, and Oklahoma. In Kansas and Oklahoma this proceeding has been twice repeated, and in Oregon even three times. The noteworthy fact is that each time the majorities against the political emancipation of women became smaller.*

"The municipal rights obtained by women are very varied, but, taken all in all, do not amount to much. As a matter of course, women enjoy the full municipal rights of citizenship in those four states in which they have been given national suffrage. But only one other state, Kansas, has given women municipal suffrage, which also includes school and tax-paying suffrage and makes them eligible to school boards. A limited municipal suffrage, founded upon an educational qualification, has been exercised by the women of Michigan since 1893. Louisiana, Montana, Iowa, and New York give women the right to vote on municipal questions of taxation. The women have not obtained as much influence in the general administration of municipal affairs as they have in regard to the administration of schools. They have school suffrage and are eligible to school boards in the following states: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, Arizona, Oregon and Washington. In Kentucky and Oklahoma they have school suffrage, but are not eligible to office; in Ken-

*At present suffrage amendments are pending in Washington and Oklahoma. (Tr.)

tucky the school suffrage is limited by certain restrictions. In Maine, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, Iowa and California, women are eligible to school boards, but only to certain offices."*

In New Zealand, women have had full parliamentary suffrage since 1893. They have actively participated in the parliamentary elections, more actively than the men, but they are not eligible to office. Only men may be elected. In 1893, of 139,915 women of voting age no less than 109,461 registered; 785 for each 1000; 90,290—645 for each 1000—took part in the elections. In 1896 108,783 (68 per cent.) of the women voted; in 1902, 138,565; in 1905, 175,046.

In Tasmania, women were given municipal suffrage in 1884 and national suffrage in 1903. In South Australia, women have had national suffrage since 1895, in West Australia since 1900, in New South Wales since 1902, in Queensland since 1905, in Victoria since 1908. Federated Australia introduced parliamentary woman's suffrage in 1902. The parliamentary suffrage implies the eligibility of women to parliament, but until now no woman has been elected. Women who are of age may vote for members of parliament and be voted for on the same terms as men. The municipal administration is less democratic. The right of participation in the administration of municipal affairs is connected with military service. Since 1889, tax-paying women are eligible to the charity-boards of town and rural communities. They may also be elected as directors of charitable institutions and members of school boards.

The grand general strike of October, 1905, and the victory of the Russian revolution made possible the restoration of the constitution in Finland. The working class, by bringing pressure to bear upon the National Diet, succeeded in obtaining the passage of a law that provided for the introduction of universal suffrage, including the women. Only such persons were excluded who received aid from public funds, or who owed their personal tax to the state, 50 cents for men and 25 cents

*Clara Zetkin—Woman Suffrage. Berlin, 1907.

for women. In 1907, 19 women, and in 1908, 25 women were elected to the parliament of Finland.

In Norway, women participate in the adminstration of schools since 1889. In cities, the city councils may appoint them to school boards, and women having children of school age take part in the election of school inspectors. In the rural districts all who pay school taxes, regardless of sex, are entitled to take part in the school meetings of the communities. Women may hold the office of school inspector. Gradually women were given a voice in other municipal matters also. In 1901, municipal suffrage was extended to all Norwegian women who had attained their twenty-fifth year, who were Norwegian citizens, having been in the country at least five years, and who paid taxes on an income of at least 300 crowns, in the rural districts, and 400 crowns in the cities, or whose husbands paid the required amount of taxes. Women answering these requirements were also made eligible to municipal offices. By this law 200,000 women were enfranchised, 30,000 of them in Christiania alone. During the first election in which the women participated, 90 women were elected as members of town and city councils, and 160 as alternates. In Christiana, 6 women councillors and one alternate were elected. On July 1, 1907, the Norwegian women were given parliamentary suffrage, but not upon the same terms as men. Parliamentary suffrage was extended to women on the same terms on which they had been given municipal suffrage; 250,000 proletarian women still remain excluded from political rights.

In Sweden, unmarried women take part in municipal elections since 1862, on the same terms as men; that is, they must be of age and must pay taxes on an income of at least 140 dollars. In 1887 only 4000 women among 62,000 voted. At first, women were not eligible to any municipal office, but in 1889 a law was enacted which declared them eligible to school boards and boards of charity. In February, 1909, Swedish women were declared eligible to all town and city councils. In 1902 parliamen-

tary woman suffrage was rejected by the lower house by 114 against 64 votes; in 1905 by 109 against 88 votes.

In Denmark, after many years of agitation, women were given municipal suffrage in April, 1908, and were also made eligible to municipal offices. All those women are enfranchised who have attained their twenty-fifth year and who have an annual income of at least 225 dollars in the cities (less in rural districts), or whose husbands pay the required amount of taxes. Moreover, servant girls are enfranchised, in whose case board and lodging are added to the wages they receive. During the first election in which women participated, which took place in 1909, seven women were elected to the city council of Copenhagen. In Iceland, women have municipal suffrage and are eligible to municipal offices since 1907.

The struggle for woman suffrage in England has a considerable history. According to an old law, in the mediaeval ages, ladies of the manors had the right of suffrage and also exercised judicial power. In the course of time they were deprived of these rights. In the election reform acts of 1832, the word "person" had been employed, which includes members of both sexes. Yet the law was construed not to refer to women, and they were barred from voting wherever they made an attempt to do so. In the election reform bill of 1867, the word "person" had been replaced by the word "man." John Stuart Mill moved to reintroduce the word "person" instead of "man," explicitly stating as the object of his motion that thereby women would be given the suffrage on the same terms as men. The motion was voted down by 194 against 73 votes. Sixteen years later, in 1883, another attempt was made in the house of commons to introduce woman suffrage. The bill was rejected by a majority of only 16 votes. Another attempt failed in 1884, when a much larger membership of the house voted down a suffrage bill by a majority of 136 votes. But the minority were not discouraged. In 1886 they succeeded in having a bill providing for the introduction of parliamentary

woman suffrage passed in two readings. The dissolving of parliament prevented a final decision.

On November 29, 1888, Lord Salisbury delivered an address in Edinburgh, in which he said, among other things: "I sincerely hope that the day may not be distant when women will participate in parliamentary elections and will help to determine the course of the government." Alfred Russell Wallace, the well-known scientist and follower of Darwin, expressed himself upon the same question in the following manner: "When men and women shall be free to follow their best impulses, when no human being shall be hampered by unnatural restrictions owing to the chance of sex, when public opinion will be controlled by the wisest and best and will be systematically impressed upon the young, then we will find that a system of human selection will manifest itself that will result in a transformed humanity. As long as women are compelled to regard marriage as a means whereby they may escape poverty and neglect, they are and remain at a disadvantage compared to men. Therefore the first step in the emancipation of women is to remove all the restrictions which prevent them from competing with men in all branches of industry and in all occupations. But we must advance beyond this point and permit women to exercise their **political rights.** Many of the restrictions from which women have hitherto suffered would have been spared them if they had had a direct representation in parliament."

On April 27, 1892, the second reading of a bill by Sir A. Rollit was again rejected by 175 against 152 votes. On February 3, 1897, the house of commons passed a suffrage bill, but, owing to various manœuvres of the opponents, the bill did not come up for the third reading. In 1904 the same scene was re-enacted. Of the members of parliament elected to the house of commons in 1906, a large majority had declared themselves in favor of woman suffrage prior to their election. On June 21, 1908, a grand demonstration was held in Hyde Park. On February 28, a bill providing that women should be given

parliamentary suffrage on the same terms as men, had been passed by 271 against 92 votes.*

In regard to municipal administration, woman suffrage in Great Britain is constantly expanding. In the parish councils tax-paying women have a voice and vote as well as men. Since 1899, women in England have the right to vote for town, district and county councils. In the rural districts all proprietors and lodgers—including the female ones—who reside in the parish or district are entitled to vote. All inhabitants who are of age may be elected to the above-named bodies, regardless of sex. Women vote for members of school boards, and, since 1870, are eligible to same on the same terms as men. But in 1903 the reactionary English school law has deprived women of the right of being elected to the school board in the county of London. Since 1869 independent and unmarried women have the right to vote for the privy councils. Two laws enacted in 1907 made unmarried women in England and Scotland eligible to district and county councils. But a woman who may be elected as chairman of such a council, shall thereby not hold the office of justice of peace that is connected with it. Women are also eligible to parish councils and as overseers of the poor. The first woman mayor was elected in Aldeburgh on November 9, 1908. In 1908 there were 1162 women on English boards of charity and 615 women on school boards. In Ireland, tax-paying women have had municipal suffrage since 1887, and since 1896 they may vote for members of boards of charity and be elected to asme. In the Birtish colony of North America, most of the provinces have introduced municipal woman suffrage on similar terms as in England. In the African colonies of England, municipal woman suffrage has likewise been introduced.

In France the first slight progress was brought about by a law enacted on February 27, 1880. By this law a

*A similar bill, known as the "conciliation bill," drawn up by a committee consisting of members of all parties, passed its second reading in July 1910 by 299 against 189 votes. Prime Minister Asquith prevented the third reading and final vote upon the bill during that session of Parliament. (Tr.)

school board was created consisting of women school principals, school inspectors, and inspectors of asylums. Another law of January 23, 1898, gave women engaged in commerce the right to vote for members of courts of trade, and, since November 25, 1908, women may be elected as members of courts of trade themselves.

In Italy women may vote for members of courts of trade and be elected as such since 1893. They are also eligible to boards of supervisors of hospitals, orphan asylums, foundling asylums, and to school boards.

In Austria women belonging to the class of great landowners may vote for members of the Diet and the imperial council, either personally or by proxy. Tax-paying women, over 24, may vote for town and city councillors; married women exercise the suffrage indirectly through their husbands, others through some other authorized agent. All the women belonging to the class of great land-owners have the right to vote for members of the Diet, but, with the exception of Lower Austria, they do not exercise it personally. Only in the one domain referred to, the law of 1896 provides that the great landowners, regardless of sex, must cast their vote in person. Women may also vote for members of courts of trade, but may not be elected to same.

In Germany women are explicitly excluded from voting for any law-making bodies. In some parts of the country women may vote for town-councillors. In no city or rural community are women eligible to municipal offices. In the cities they are also excluded from the right to vote for any office. The exceptions to this rule are some cities in the Grand-duchy of Saxony-Weimar-Eisenach, in the principalities of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, and Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, in Bavaria, and the little town of Travemuende, in Lubeck.

In the Bavarian cities all women who are house-owners, and in the cities of Saxony-Weimar and Schwarzburg, all women citizens are given the suffrage, but only in Travemuende are they permittel to exercise it in person.* In most of the rural communities where the right

*Political Manual for Women. Berlin, 1909.

of suffrage depends upon a property or tax-paying qualification, women are included in this right. But they must vote by proxy and are not eligible to any office themselves. This is the case in Prussia, Brunswick, Schleswig-Holstein, Saxony-Weimar, Hamburg, and Lubeck. In the Kingdom of Saxony a woman may exercise the suffrage if she be a landowner and unmarried. When she becomes married, her suffrage devolves upon her husband. In those states in which municipal suffrage depends upon citizenship, women are generally excluded. This is the case in Wurtemberg, in the Bavarian Palatinate, in Baden, Hessia, Oldenburg, Anhalt, Gotha, and Reuss. In Saxony-Weimar-Eisenach, Coburg, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, and Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, women can become citizens on the same terms as men, and they have the suffrage, not limited by any property qualification. But here, too, they are prohibited from exercising this right in person.

In those Prussian districts where a limited form of woman suffrage exists, the enfranchised women participate directly or indirectly in the elections for members of the dietines. In the electoral groups of great landowners and the representatives of mining and manufacturing establishments, the women vote for members of the dietines directly; but in the rural communities they vote indirectly, since here the town council does not elect the representatives themselves, but only their electors. As the local dietines elect representatives to the provincial diets, the small number of enfranchised women are enabled to exert a very modest influence on the administration of the provinces.

During recent years women have been admitted to boards of charity, and have been made overseers of the poor and of orphan asylums in growing numbers and with marked success. (Bavaria constitutes the only exception.) In some cities (in Prussia, Baden, Wurtemberg, Bavaria and Saxony), they have also been admitted to school boards, and in one city (Mannheim), they have been made members of a commission for the inspection of dwellings. Insurance against sickness is the only public institution in connection with which women may

vote and be voted for. They remain excluded from voting for members of courts of trade.

The above-quoted instances show that suffrage in Germany and Austria is determined, almost without exception, not by the person, but by property. Politically, human beings are mere ciphers if they have no money and no possesions. Neither intellect nor ability, but property is the determining factor. It is very instructive to note this fact in regard to the morality and justice of the present state.

We see that a number of exceptions have already been made to the theory that women are in the same class with minors and that the franchise must accordingly be withheld from them. And yet people vehemently oppose the endeavor to give women full political equality. Even progressive people argue that it would be dangerous to enfranchise women because they are conservative by nature and are susceptible to religious prejudices. But these arguments are true to some extent only, so long as women are maintained in ignorance. Our object must therefore be to educate them and to teach them where their true interest lies. Incidentally it may be stated that the religious influence on elections has been overestimated. The ultramontane agitation was so successful in Germany only because it wisely combined the religious interests with social interests. For a long time the ultramontane chaplains vied with the Socialists in revealing social deterioration. It was this that caused them to become so influential with the masses. But with the end of the struggle between church and state this influence gradually declines. The clergy are obliged to abandon their struggle against the power of the state; at the same time the increasing class differences compel them to show greater consideration for the Catholic bourgeoisie and the Catholic nobility and to be more reticent in regard to social questions. Thereby they lose their influence upon workingmen, especially if consideration for the ruling classes compels them to faver or to tolerate actions and laws that are directed against the interests of the working class. The same reasons will eventually also destroy the influence of the clergy upon

women. When women learn in meetings, or from newspapers, or by personal experience, where their true interests lie, they will emancipate themselves from clerical influence just as men.*

In Belgium, where ultramontanism still predominates among large circles of the population, a number of the Catholic clergy favor woman suffrage because they deem it an effective weapon against Socialism. In Germany, too, a number of conservative members of the Diet have declared themselves in favor of the woman suffrage bills introduced by Socialist members and have explained their position by asserting that they consider woman suffrage a weapon against Socialism. Undoubtedly there is some truth in these opinions, taking into consideration the present political ignorance of women and the strong influence exerted over them by the clergy. But still this is no reason to disfranchise them. There are millions of workingmen, too, who vote for candidates of bourgeois and religious parties against their own class interest and thereby prove their political ignorance, yet no one would propose to disfranchise them for this reason. The withholding or the rape of the franchise is not practiced because the ignorance of the masses—including the ignorance of women—is feared; for what these masses are, the ruling classes have made them. It is

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*That this danger exists the clergy themselves have soon recognized. Since the woman movement has grown and developed even in bourgeois circles, the leaders of the Catholic party recognized that they could no longer oppose it, and they accordingly completely reversed their attitude. With that sublety which has always characterized the servants of the church, they favor at present what they opposed until quite recently. They not only favor higher education for women, they also declare themselves in favor of unrestricted right of assembly and organization for women. Some of the more far-sighted even support woman suffrage, hoping that the church may derive the greatest gain from the introduction of same. In the same way the industrial organization of women is supported by the Catholic clergy, even the organization of servant girls. But all these social endeavors are fostered, not from an innate sense of justice, but to prevent the women from flocking to the camp of religious and political opponents.

practiced because the ruling classes fear that the masses will gradually become wise and pursue their own course.

Until recently the various German states were so reactionary that they even withheld from women the right of political organization. In Prussia, Bavaria, Brunswick, and a number of other German states, they were not permitted to form political clubs. In Prussia they were not even permitted to participate in entertainments arranged by political clubs, as was distinctly set down by the supreme court in 1901. The rector of the Berlin University even went so far as to forbid a woman to lecture before a social science club of students. In the same year the police authorities of Brunswick forbade women to take part in the proceedings of the social congress of Evangelists. In 1902 the Prussian secretary of state condescended to give women the permission to attend the meetings of political clubs, but under the condition that they had to take their seats in a part of the hall specially set aside for them, like the Jewish women in their synagogues. Nothing could have better characterized the pettiness of our conditions. As late as February, 1904, Pasadowsky solemnly declared in the Diet: "Women shall keep their hands off politics." But eventually this state of affairs became unbearable even to the bourgeois parties. The new national law on assembly and organization of April 19, 1908, brought the only marked improvement by establishing equal rights of women in regard to political organization and public assembly.

The right to vote must of course be combined with the right to be elected to office. We hear the cry: "How ridiculous it would be to behold a woman on the platform of the Diet!" Yet there are other states where women have ascended to the platforms of parliaments, and we, too, have long since become accustomed to see women on platforms in their meetings and conventions. In North America women appear on the pulpit and in the jury-box; why not on the platform of the Diet? The first woman to be elected to the Diet will know how to impress the other members. When the first workingmen were elected to the Diet they, too, were the objects of

cheap wit, and it was asserted that workingmen would soon recognize the folly of electing men of their type. But the working-class representatives quickly succeeded in winning respect, and at present their opponents fear that there may be too many of them. Frivolous jesters exclaim: "But picture a pregnant woman on the platform of the Diet; how shocking!" Yet the same gentlemen consider it quite proper that pregnant women should be employed at occupations which shockingly degrade their womanly dignity and decency and undermine their health. That man is a wretch, indeed, who dares to ridicule a pregnant woman. The very thought that his mother was in the same condition before she gave him birth must drive the blood to his cheeks in shame, and the other thought, that his wife's being in the same condition may mean the fulfillment of his fondest hopes, must silence him.*

The woman who gives birth to children is serving the community at least as well as the man who risks his life in defence of the country. For she gives birth to and educates the future soldiers, far too many of whom must sacrifice their lives on the battlefield. Moreover, every

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*"Half of the women members of Parliament in Finland are wives and mothers. Three of the Socialist married women members became mothers during their parliamentary activity without any other disturbing results except that they remained away from the sessions for a few weeks. Their pregnant condition was regarded as something natural that was neither wonderful nor noteworthy. It may rather be said that this factor was of educational value to the assembly. In regard to the parliamentary activity of these women members it should be noted that their parties elected them to the special committees also, which proves that they were convinced of their ability. The committee on labor where the laws for workingmen's protection, workingmen's insurance, and the new trade laws were drawn up, consisted of twelve men and four women, and three women had been chosen as alternates. The legislative and constitutional committees each had two women members, and for each there was one woman alternate, and the women have ably maintained their place in these committees."—Miss Hilda Paerssinen, member of the diet of Finland—"Woman Suffrage and the Participation of Women in the Parliamentary Work of Finland."—Documents of Progress. July, 1909.

woman **risks her life** in becoming a mother. All our mothers have faced death in giving us life, and many of them have perished. In Prussia, for instance, the number of deaths in child-birth—including the victims of puerperal fever—by far exceeds the number of deaths from typhoid. During 1905 and 1906 0.73 and 0.62 per cent. of typhoid patients died. But among 10,000 women 2.13 and 1.97 per cent. died in child-birth. "How would conditions have developed," Professor Herff rightly remarks, "if men were subjected to these sufferings to the same extent? Would not the utmost measures be resorted to?"* **The number of women who die in child-birth, or are left sickly as a result of same, is far greater than the number of men who die or are wounded on the battlefield.** From 1816 to 1876, in Prussia alone, no less than 321,791 women fell victims of puerperal fever; that is an annual average of 5363. In England, from 1847 to 1901, 213,533 women died in child-birth, and still, notwithstanding all hygienic measures, no less than 4000 die annually.**

That is a far greater number than the number of men killed in the various wars during the same time. To this tremendous number of women who die in child-birth must furthermore be added the still greater number of those who become sickly as a result of child-birth and die young.*** This is another reason why woman is entitled to full equality with man. Let these facts be especially noted by those persons who advance the military service of men as an argument against the equal rights of women. Moreover, our military institutions enable a great many men to escape the performance of this duty.

All these superficial objections to the public activity of women would be impossible if the relation of the sexes

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*Professor Dr. Otto v. Herff—The struggle against puerperal fever. Leipsig, 1908.

**W. Williams—Deaths in Child-bed. London, 1904.

***"For every woman who dies in child-birth we must assume from fifteen to twenty who are more or less seriously infected with resulting diseases of the abdominal organs and general debility from which they frequently suffer for the remainder of their lives." Dr. Mrs. H. B. Adams—The Book of Woman. Stuttgart, 1894.

was natural, instead of there being an artificially stimulated antagonism between them. From their early childhood on the sexes are separated in their education and their social intercourse. It is especially the antagonism we owe to Christianity that keeps the sexes apart and maintains one in ignorance about the other, whereby free social intercourse, mutual confidence and the ability to supplement each other's traits of character are prevented.

One of the first and most important tasks of a rationally organized society must be to remove this detrimental discord and to restore the rights of nature. We begin by making even the little children in school unnatural, firstly, by separating the sexes, and secondly, by failing to instruct our children as to the sex nature of human beings. In every fairly good school natural history is being taught at present. The child learns that birds lay eggs and hatch them. He learns when birds mate and that both the male and female bird build the nest, hatch the eggs and feed the young. He also learns that mammals bring forth their young alive. He hears of the mating season and that the male animals fight one another for possession of the females. Perhaps he even learns how many young one or another species of animal usually brings forth and how long the female is pregnant. But profoundest secrecy is maintained in regard to the origin and development of the human being. When the child seeks to satisfy its natural curiosity by questioning his parents, especially his mother—he rarely ventures to question the teacher—he is told the most ridiculous fairy tales that cannot satisfy his thirst for knowledge and that must exert an all the more harmful influence when, some day, he nevertheless learns the true nature of his origin. There are few children who have not learned of it by the time they are twelve years old. In every small town, and especially in the country, even very young children have occasion to observe the pairing of poultry and domestic animals at close range in the yards, in the streets and on pasture. They hear that the pairing of domestic animals and the birth of the young is discussed without a sense of shame by their parents, their elder brothers and sisters and the servants. All this

causes the child to doubt the truth of what his parents told him in regard to his own coming into the world. Finally the child learns the truth, but not in the manner in which he ought to learn it if his education were a natural and rational one. The fact that the child keeps his knowledge a secret leads to an estrangement between him and his parents, especially between him and his mother. The parents have accomplished the opposite of what they sought to accomplish in their ignorance and short-sightedness. Those who recall their own childhood and the childhood of their playmates know to what this may lead.

An American woman* tells us that in order to satisfactorily answer the constant questions of her eight-year-old son as to his origin, and because she did not wish to tell him fairy tales, she revealed to him the truth about his birth. The child, she says, listened to her with utmost attention, and from the day upon which he had learned how much suffering he caused his mother, he had treated her with unwonted tenderness and respect and had also transferred these feelings to other women. The writer upholds the correct view that only by means of a natural education men can be led to treat women with more respect and self-control. Every unprejudiced person is bound to agree with her.

Whatever starting-point one may choose in the criticism of present-day conditions, one is bound always to reiterate the following: **A thorough reorgainzation of our social conditions,** and thereby a thorough transformation in the relation of the sexes, is needful. Woman, in order to attain her aim more quickly, must look about for allies, and she naturally finds such allies in the proletarian movement. The class-conscious proletariat has long since commenced to storm the fortress of the state that is founded on class rule, which includes the rule of one sex over the other. The fortress must be surrounded on all sides, and, by arms of all calibers, it must be forced to surrender. The beleaguering army finds its officers and suitable arms on all sides. The social sciences, the natural sciences, historical research, pedagogics, hygiene and

*Womanhood, Its Sanctities and Fidelities by Isabella Beecher Hooker. New York, 1874. Lee, Shepard & Dillingham.

statistics furnish the movement with arms and munition. Philosophy comes forward, too, and, in Mainlaender's "Philosophy of Deliverance," proclaims the early realization of the "ideal state."

The conquest of the class-state and its transformation is made easier by dissension in the ranks of its defenders, who, notwithstanding their community of interests against the common enemy, fight one another in the struggle for the spoils. The interest of one group is opposed to the interest of another. Another point in our favor is the growing mutiny in the ranks of the enemy. To a great extent their soldiers are blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh, but, owing to ignorance, they, until now, fought against us and against themselves. More and more of these join our ranks. We are, furthermore, helped by the desertion of honest men of intellect, who were hostile to us at first, but whose superior knowledge and profound insight impels them to rise above their narrow class interest, to follow their ideal desire for justice, and to espouse the cause of the masses that are longing for liberation.

Many still fail to recognize that state and society are already in a state of decay. Therefore an exposition of this subject also becomes necessary.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Class-State and the Modern Proletariat.

1.—Our Public Life.

The development of society has been a very rapid one in all civilized states of the world during recent decades, and any new achievement in any realm of human activity still hastens this development. Thereby our social conditions have been put into a state of unrest, fermentation and dissolution, the like of which had never been known before. The feeling of security of the ruling classes has been shaken, and the institutions are losing their old stability whereby they might resist the attacks that are made upon them from all sides. A feeling of discomfort, insecurity and dissatisfaction has taken possession of all strata of society, the highest as well as the lowest. The tremendous exertions made by the ruling classes to remove this unbearable state of affairs by patching and mending the body social, prove useless because they are insufficient. They only increase their sense of insecurity and heighten their discomfort and unrest. They have scarcely inserted one beam into the dilapidated structure in the form of some legislation, when they discover a dozen other decayed spots that require repairs still more urgently. At the same time they have constant quarrels and serious differences of opinion among themselves. A measure introduced by one party to appease the growing dissatisfaction of the masses, is condemned by the other party as an unpardonable weakness and leniency that is bound to stimulate a desire for still greater concessions. That is clearly seen by the endless discussions in all parliaments, whereby new laws and institutions are constantly being introduced without attaining any state of rest and satisfaction. Among the ruling classes themselves certain extreme differences exist, some of which

are insurmountable, and these still intensify the social conflict.

The governments—and not only those in Germany—sway to and fro like reeds shaken by the wind. They must lean on something, for they cannot exist without a support, and so they incline first toward one side and then toward another. There is hardly a progressive state in Europe in which the government can count upon a permanent majority in parliament. Social extremes break up the majorities; and the constant fluctuations of the market, especially in Germany, undermine the last remnant of confidence that the ruling classes still placed in themselves. To-day one party is in control and to-morrow another. What the one has constructed with much difficulty is torn down by the other. The confusion increases, the dissatisfaction becomes more lasting, the struggles multiply and wear out more human strength in a few months than formerly in an equal number of years. Besides, the material demands, in the form of various taxes, are constantly increasing, and there is no limit to the public debts.

The modern state is by its very nature a class-state. We have seen how it became necessary to protect private property and to regulate, by means of laws and institutions, the relations of the proprietors to one another and to the non-possessors. Whatever forms the appropriation of property may assume in the course of historical development, it is established by the very nature of private property that the greatest proprietors are the most powerful persons in the state and shape it in accordance with their interests. It is, furthermore, established by the nature of private property that an individual can never obtain enough of same and employs all available means in order to increase it. He therefore endeavors so to shape the state that it may best enable him to attain his ends. Thereby laws and institutions of the state naturally develop into class laws and class institutions. But the powers of the state, and all who are interested in maintaining the present order, would not be able to uphold it long against the mass of those who are not interested in its maintenance, if this mass would recognize the

true nature of existing conditions. This recognition must therefore be prevented at any cost. The masses must be maintained in ignorance concerning the nature of existing conditions. They must be taught that the present order has always existed and will always continue to exist, that seeking to overturn it, means to rebel against the institutions of God himself. That is why religion is made to serve this purpose. The more ignorant and superstitious the masses are, the more favorable are the circumstances to the ruling classes. To maintain them in ignorance and superstition is in the interest of the state; that is, in the interest of those classes who regard the state as an institution to protect their class privileges. These are, besides the propertied class, the hierarchy of church and state, who all unite in the common task of protecting their interests.

But, with the endeavor to win possessions and with the increased number of possessors, the general status of civilization is raised to a higher level. The circle of those increases who seek to participate in the fruits of progress and who succeed in so doing to a certain degree. A new class arises on a new basis. It is not regarded by the ruling class as being entitled to equal rights, but is prepared to venture anything in order to attain equality. Finally new class struggles arise and even violent revolutions, whereby the new class obtains recognition and power. Especially by espousing the cause of the mass of the oppressed and exploited, it attains the victory with their aid.

But as soon as the new class has come into power it unites with its former enemies against its former allies, and after some time class struggles begin anew. The new ruling class has meanwhile imprinted the entire body social with the character of its means of subsistance; but as it can increase its power and its possessions only by letting a part of its achievements fall to the share of the class that it oppresses and exploits, it thereby heightens the ability and understanding of that class. By so doing, the ruling class furnishes the oppressed class with the weapons that shall achieve its own destruction. The

struggle of the masses now becomes directed against all class rule, in whatever form it may exist.

This last class is the modern proletariat, and its historical mission will be not only to achieve its own liberation, but also the liberation of all who are oppressed, which includes the liberation of woman.

The nature of the class state not only involves the political oppression of the exploited classes, it also involves that they are made to bear the heaviest burdens for the maintenance of the state. That is made easy when the burdens are imposed in such a manner that their true character is concealed. It is obvious that high direct taxes must foster a rebellious spirit if the income of those on whom they are imposed is a small one. Wisdom therefore bids the ruling classes to be moderate in this respect, and to introduce a system of indirect taxation instead by placing a tax on the most necessary commodities. Thereby the taxes are paid for in the price of the commodities in an invisible way, and the majority remain ignorant as to the amount of taxes that they actually pay. To what extent the consumer is taxed on bread, salt, meat, sugar, coffee, beer, oil, etc., is difficult to calculate, and most persons have no idea to what extent they are fleeced. These taxes weigh heaviest on large families; they are therefore the most unjust form of taxation imaginable. On the other hand, the possessing classes pride themselves on the direct taxes that they pay, and by the height of these taxes they measure the political rights that they enjoy and that they withhold from the non-possessing classes. Moreover, the possessing classes provide aid and assistance from the state for themselves by means of the tariff and other institutions that amount to millions of dollars annually at the expense of the masses. The masses are furthermore exploited by the increased cost of living as a result of capitalistic organization and the formation of trusts; these the state either favors by its policy or suffers to exist, and in some cases it even supports them by actual participation.

As long as the masses can be kept in ignorance concerning the nature of all these measures, they in no way endanger the state or the ruling social order. But as soon

as the exploited classes become conscious of their exploitation—and the growing political education of the masses enables them to become so—the glaring injustice of these measures arouses bitterness and indignation. The last spark of confidence in a sense of justice of the ruling powers is destroyed. The true nature of the state that resorts to such measures,the true nature of the society that favors them, become recognized. The struggle for the ultimate destruction of both is the result.

In their endeavor to do justice to the most conflicting interests, state and society organize one institution upon another, but no old one is thoroughly removed and no new one is thoroughly carried out. Half measures are resorted to that fail to satisfy anyone. The new requirements of civilization that have grown up among the people require some consideration, if the powers that be are not to risk everything. To meet these requirements even insufficiently entails a considerable expense, all the more so because there are a number of parasites everywhere. But alongside of these new institutions all the old institutions that are averse to the purposes of civilization are maintained. As a result of social extremes they are even expanded and become all the more troublesome and oppressive, because increasing knowledge and judgment loudly proclaim them to be superfluous. The police department, the army, the courts, the prisons, all are extended and become more expensive; but thereby neither the outward nor the inward security is strengthened; rather the contrary takes place.

A highly unnatural condition has gradually developed in regard to the international relations of nations to one another. These relations increase with the growing production of commodities, with the increased exchange of commodities that is constantly made easier by improved methods of distribution, and by the fact that economic and scientific achievements are becoming the common property of all nations. Trade and customs treaties are made, and, with the aid of international means, expensive thoroughfares are constructed. (The Suez Canal, the St. Gothard Tunnel, etc.) Individual states support steamship lines that help to increase the traffic between va-

rious countries of the globe. The Postal Union was formed—a marked progress in civilization—international congresses are held for various practical and scientific purposes; the mental products of the several nations are disseminated among all the civilized nations of the world by translation into their respective languages, and by all these international activities the ideal of the brotherhood of man is fostered and increased. But the political and military condition of Europe and the rest of the civilized world forms a striking contradiction to this development. Jingoism and national hostilities are artificially fostered here and there. Everywhere the ruling classes seek to maintain the belief that the people are brimful of hostile feeling toward one another and are only waiting for an opportunity to attack and destroy each other. The competitive struggle of the capitalist classes of the various countries among themselves, becomes international, and assumes the character of a struggle of the capitalist class of one country against the capitalist class of another country. This struggle, supported by the political blindness of the masses, causes the nations to vie with one another in warlike preparations the like of which the world has never seen before. This rivalry created armies of a prodigious size; it created tools of murder and destruction for warfare on land and sea of such perfection, as could be made possible only by our age of advanced technical development. This rivalry creates a development of the means of destruction that finally leads to self-destruction. The maintenance of the armies and navies necessitates an immense expense that grows with every year and is ultimately bound to ruin the wealthiest nation. During the year 1908 Germany alone spent over 15 million marks ($3,750,000) for its army and navy, including the expenses for pensions and the interest on the national debt, as far as same had been contracted for military purposes, and this sum is increasing annually. The following list, compiled by Neymarck, shows the combined military expenses of the European states:

	1866.	1870.	1887.	1906.
Army and navy...	3,000	3,000	4,500	6,725
National debts....	66,000	75,000	117,000	148.000
Interest	2,400	3,000	5,300	6,000*

As shown by this list, Europe spends 6,725 million francs ($1,362,000,000) annually for armies and navies, and 6,000 million francs (1,215,000,000) interest on debts that have mostly been incurred to serve warlike purposes. A fine state of affairs, indeed!

America and Asia have begun to follow the example set by Europe. The United States spent $967,000,000 in 1875, and $3,592,250,000 in 1907 and 1908. In Japan the expenses for army and navy, including the pensions, amounted to $51,250,000 in 1875 and to $551,000,000 in 1908 and 1909.

As a result of these expenses objects of education and civilization are grievously neglected. The expenses for external defense predominate and undermine the true purpose of the state. The growing armies comprise the healthiest and strongest elements of the nation, and for their education and training all physical and mental forces are employed, as if training for wholesale murder were the most important mission of our age. At the same time the tools of warfare and murder are constantly being improved. They have attained such a degree of perfection in regard to speed, range, and force of destruction, that they have become a terror alike to friend and foe. If this tremendous apparatus should be set in motion—which would imply that the warring European forces would take the field with from 16 to 20 milion men—it would be seen that it has become uncontrollable and indirigible. No general can command such masses; no battlefield is large enough to draw them up; no administration can provide for their maintenance during any length of time. In case a battle had taken place there would not be sufficient hospitals to care for the wounded, and to bury the dead would become almost impossible. If we furthermore take into consideration

*A. Neymarck—La Statistique internationale des valeurs mobiliers. Bulletin de l'institut international de statistique. Copenhagen, 1908.

what disturbances and devastations would be wrought by a European war on the field of economics, we may say, without fear of exaggeration: **The next war will be the last war.** The number of failures in business would exceed all previous records. The export trade would come to a standstill and thousands of factories would accordingly be forced to shut down. The supply of provisions would run short, whereby the cost of living would be enormously increased. It would require millions of dollars to support the families whose bread-winners had gone to war. But whence should come the means to meet all these prodigious expenses? At present the German empire alone spends from eleven to twelve million dollars daily to maintain its army and navy in readiness for war.

The political and military status of Europe has taken a trend of development that may easily end with a catastrophe by which bourgeois society will be engulfed. On the height of its development this society has created conditions which make its own existence untenable. Itself the most revolutionary society that has hitherto existed, it has furnished the means for its own destruction.

In a great many of our municipalities a desperate state of affairs gradually begins to prevail, since it becomes almost impossible to satisfy the annually increasing demands. These demands are especially heavy in our rapidly growing large cities and industrial centers, and most of them cannot meet the demands made upon them in any other way than by raising the taxes and by borrowing. Schools, building of streets, illumination, water-works, sanitation, educational and wellfare work, police and administration entail constantly increasing expenses. Besides, the well-to-do minority makes very heavy demands on the community. Higher institutions of learning are demanded, the building of museums and theatres, the laying out of fine residential districts and parks, with appropriate illumination, pavement, etc. The majority of the population may object to these privileges, but they are an innate part of the nature of conditions. The minority are in power and they use this power to satisfy their requirements of civilization at the expense

of the community. These increased requirements are justified, too, for they represent progress. Their only shortcoming is that they are mainly enjoyed by the possessing classes alone, while they ought to be for the common enjoyment of all. Another evil is that the administrations are often expensive without being good. Not infrequently the officials are incompetent and lack proper understanding; while town or city councillors are generally so much engaged with the care for their private existence that they are unable to make the sacrifices that a thorough performance of their duties would require. Often public positions are used to further private interests to the detriment of the community. The tax-payers must bear the consequences. A thorough and satisfactory reform of these conditions cannot be attained by present-day society. In whatever form the taxes may be levied, the dissatisfaction increases. In a few decades most of the municipalities will be unable to satisfy their demands by the present form of taxation and administration. In the municipalities, as in the state, the need of a thoroughgoing transformation becomes manifest. In fact, the greatest demands for purposes of civilization are made upon them; they form the nucleus from which the social transformation will proceed as soon as the will and power for such transformation exist. But how shall this be attained while private interests control everything and public interests are of secondary importance?

This is,briefly stated, the condition of our public life, which is but a reflection of the social condition of society as a whole.

2.—Aggravation of Social Extremes.

In present-day life the struggle for existence is becoming increasingly difficult. The war of all against all is raging and is waged relentlessly, often without any discrimination in the methods employed. The French saying: "Ote-toi de la, que je m'y mette" (get out of there that I may take your place), is practiced in actual life. The weak must make way for the strong. If the material force of money, of property, does not suffice, the mean-

est methods are resorted to that a desired aim may be attained. Lies, fraud and deception, forgery and perjury, the worst crimes are commited for this end. As one individual is arrayed against another in this warfare, thus we find class against class, sex against sex, age against age. Advantage is the only arbiter of human relations; every other consideration is set aside. As soon as advantage requires it, thousands upon thousands of workingmen and women are cast out into the street, and become public charges or enforced vagabonds. In masses workers wander from place to place through the length and breadth of the land, and society fears and despises them more and more as the duration of their unemployment makes their external appearance more shabby, and, eventually, also demoralizes their character. Respectable society does not know what it means to do without the simplest requirements of order and cleanliness for months, to wander about with an empty stomach, and to reap nothing but ill-disguised disgust and contempt from those who are the upholders of this system. The families of these unfortunates suffer the hardest privations and become dependent on public charity. Sometimes despair drives parents to awful crimes against their children and themselves, to murder and suicide. Especially during hard times these deeds of despair increase to an appalling degree. But the ruling classes are not perturbed by such occurrences. The same editions of the daily papers that report such deeds, caused by poverty and despair, also contain reports of festive revelries and glittering official pageants, as if there were joy and abundance everywhere.

The general need and the increasingly difficult struggle for existence drive more and more women and girls into lives of degradation and ruin. Demoralization, brutality and crime increase, while the prisons, the penitentiaries and the so-called reformatories can hardly contain the mass of their inmates.

Crime is closely connected with social conditions. Society does not wish to admit this fact. Like the ostrich, that conceals its head in the sand not to see approaching danger, we deceive ourselves in regard to these con-

ditions that should lead to self-accusation. We try to persuade ourselves that it is all due to laziness, love of pleasure and lack of piety on the part of the workingmen. This is self-delusion and hypocrisy of the worst kind. As social conditions grow more unfavorable for a majority of the population, crimes become more numerous and more severe. The struggle for existence assumes its most cruel and violent form and creates a condition in which men regard one another as mortal enemies. Social bonds are severed and human beings treat each other with hostility.*

The ruling classes who do not see, nor wish to see, to the bottom of things, seek to remedy these evils in their own way. When poverty and need increase, and, as a result, demoralization and crime increase likewise, the source of the evil is not sought out in order to plug up this source, but the products of these conditions are punished. As the evils grow and the number of evil-doers increases, persecutions and penalties are made more severe. The belief seems to be that the devil can be driven out by Satan. Even Professor Haeckel deems it justifiable to punish crime with severe penalities and to resort to capital punishment.** On this point he is fully agreed with reactionaries of all shades who otherwise are his mortal enemies. Haeckel holds the opinion that incorrigible criminals and wrong-doers should be exterminated like weeds that rob the plants of air, light and the soil to grow in. If Haeckel had devoted himself partly to the study of social sciences instead of devoting himself to the natural sciences exclusively, he would know that these criminals could be transformed into useful members of human society, if society would offer

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*Plato already recognized the results of such conditions. He wrote: "A state in which classes exist is not one single state but two. The poor form one, and the rich form the other. Both dwell together, but always way-lay one another. Finally the ruling class becomes unable to wage a war, for then it depends upon the masses whom, when armed, it fears more than the enemy."—Plato, The State. Aristotel says: "Widespread poverty is an evil, for it can hardly be prevented that such persons become promoters of disorder."

**Natural History of the Creation.

them the needful conditions of existence. He would know that the extermination of individual criminals would no more prevent the perpetuation of new crimes, than weeds could be prevented from growing while their roots or their seeds remained. Man will never be able to prevent absolutely the formation of harmful organisms in nature. **But he will be able so to improve the social order that he himself has created, that the conditions of existence shall be favorable to all, that each individual shall be enabled to develop freely, and shall no longer be compelled to satisfy his hunger, his desire for possessions, or his ambitions, at the expense of others.***

They who seek to remove crime by removing its causes cannot favor violent methods of repression. They cannot prevent society from protecting itself in its own way against criminals whom it can, of course, not give free scope, but they demand all the more urgently a transformation of society that would mean a removal of the causes of crime.

The connection between social conditions and misdemeanors and crimes has frequently been shown by statisticians and political economists.** One of the most frequent misdemeanors, that is regarded as a misdemeanor by our society, in spite of all its Christian teachings about charity—is mendicancy. In connection with this subject the statistics of the Kingdom of Saxony teach us that the increase of the great crisis that began in Germany in 1890 and attained its height from 1892 to 1893, the number of persons punished for mendicancy increased likewise. During 1890 the number of persons punished for this misdemeanor was 8,815; during 1891, 10,075, and during 1892, 13,120. Similar facts were observed in Austria, where, during 1891, 90,926 persons

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*A similar thought is expressed by Plato in his "State": "Crimes are caused by ignorance, by bad education and institutions of the state." Plato was better acquainted with the nature of society than many of his learned followers two thousand and three hundred years later. That is not very encouraging.

**M. Sursky—New facts concerning the economic causes of crime. "New Era."

were convicted of mendicancy and vagrancy, and 98,998 persons during 1892.* This is a considerable increase.

Pauperization of the masses on the one hand and increasing wealth on the other is the stamp of our period. The trend of present-day development may be well judged from the fact that in the United States five men—John D. Rockefeller, the late Harriman, J. Pierpont Morgan, W. K. Vanderbilt, and G. J. Gould—in the year 1900, owned together over 800,000,000 dollars, and that they possessed sufficient influence to control the economic life of the United States and partly also that of Europe. In all civilized countries the large combinations of capitalists form the most noteworthy phenomenon of the recent period and are constantly gaining more social and political importance.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Process of Concentration in Capitalistic Industry.

1.—The Displacement of Agriculture by Industry.

The capitalistic system of production not only dominates the social organization but also the political organization. It influences and controls the thoughts and sentiments of society. Capitalism is the ruling power. The capitalist is lord and master of the proletarian, whose labor power he buys as a commodity to be applied and made use of, at a price that oscillates according to supply and demand and the cost of production, as with every other commodity. But the capitalist does not buy labor power "to please God," or to render a service to the workingman—as he sometimes seeks to present it—

*H. Herz—Crime and Criminals in Austria. The author says: "The prevailing economic status must be taken into consideration in the judgment of crime. The organization of production and consumption and the distribution of wealth has a marked influence on crime in many ways."

but to obtain surplus value by it, which he pockets in the form of profit, interest and rent. This surplus value squeezed out of the workingman—inasmuch as it is not spent by the employer for his personal enjoyment—is crystallized into capital, and enables him steadily to enlarge his plant, to improve the process of production, and to employ more labor power. Thereby again he becomes enabled to encounter his weaker competitor, as a horseman, clad in armor, might encounter an unarmed pedestrian, and to destroy him.

This unequal struggle is developing more and more in all domains, and woman, furnishing the cheapest labor power, beside the child, plays an important part in this struggle. The result of these conditions is, that the line of demarcation becomes sharper between a relatively small number of powerful capitalists and the great mass of non-possessors of capital, who depend upon the daily sale of their labor power. With this development the position of the middle classes is becoming more and more unfavorable.

One line of industry after another, where until recently the small manufacturers predominated, are being taken hold of by capitalistic enterprise. The competition of the capitalists among themselves compels them constantly to seek new realms to be exploited. Capital goes about "like a roaring lion seeking something to devour." The small men are ruined, and if they do not succeed in finding some other field of activity—which is becoming increasingly difficult—they sink down into the class of wage-workers. All attempts to prevent the decline of handicraft and the middle class by means of laws and institutions that have been taken from the shelves of the past, prove useless. They may deceive one or another for a little while in regard to his true position, but soon the delusion is dispelled by the force of facts. The process of absorption of the small ones by the great ones is becoming clearly evident to all with the unrelenting force of a natural law.

In what manner the social structure of Germany has been transformed during the brief period of twenty-five years—from 1882 to 1895 and from 1895 to 1907—that

may be seen by a comparison of the census figures from these years, as shown by the following table:

	Persons gainfully employed in principal calling			Increase (+) or decrease (—) since 1882
	1882	18 5	1907	
Agriculture	8,236,496	8,292,692	9,883,257	+ 1,646,761 = 19.89
Industry	6,396,465	8,281,220	11,256,254	+ 4,859,789 = 75.98
Commerce and Traffic	1,570,318	2,338,5 1	3,477,626	+ 1,907,308 = 121 46
Domestic service	397,582	432 491	471,695	+ 74,113 = 18.63
Public service and learned professions	1,031,147	1,425,961	1,738,530	+ 707,383 = 68,56
No occupation	1,354,486	2,142,808	3,404,983	+ 2,050,497 = 151,40
Total	18,986,494	22,913,683	30,232,345	+11,245,851 = 53.95

	Persons gainfully employed including their families			Increase (+) or decrease (—) since 1882
	1882	1895	1906	
Agriculture	19,225,455	18,501,307	17,681,176	— 1,544,279 = 18.18
Industry	16,058,080	20,253,241	26,38 ,537	+10,328,457 = 64.25
Commerces and Traffic	4,531,080	5,966,836	8,278,239	+ 3,747,159 = 82.69
Domestic service	938,294	886,807	792,748	— 145,546 = 15.57
Public service and learned professions	2,222,982	2,835,014	3,407,126	+ 1,184,144 = 53.33
No occupation	2,246,222	3,327,069	5,174,703	+ 2,928,481 = 130.36
Total	45,222,113	51,760,284	61,720,528	+19,878,066 = 34.27

These figures show that during the twenty-five years referred to, a considerable shifting of the population and its occupations has taken place. The population employed in industry, commerce and traffic has increased at the expense of the agricultural population. Almost the entire increase in population—6,548,171 from 1882 to 1895, and 9,950,245 from 1895 to 1907—has been absorbed by the former. Although the number of persons gainfully employed in industry as their principal calling has increased, this increase has not kept pace with the general growth of the population, and the number of the members of the families of persons so employed has even decreased by 1,544,279=8 per cent.

Industry (including the building trades and mining), commerce and traffic, present a different aspect. Here the number of persons gainfully employed and their families have considerably increased; in fact, they have increased more rapidly than the population. The number of persons employed in industry exceeds the number of

persons employed in agriculture by 1,372,997=15 per cent. The number of the members of their families exceeds the number of the members of families of persons employed in agriculture by 8,705,361=49 per cent. The numbers of persons employed in commerce and traffic, together with their families, show a still greater increase.

The result is that the agricultural population, which is the real conservative portion of the population and forms the mainstay of the old order of things, is being repressed more and more and overtaken by the population engaged in industry, commerce and traffic. That the number of persons engaged in learned professions and their families have increased likewise, does not alter these facts. The strong increase in the number of persons having no occupation and their families is due to the growing number of persons living on their rents, including accident, invalid and old-age insurance, the greater number of persons dependent on charity, students of all sorts, and inmates of poorhouses, hospitals, insane asylums and prisons.

Another characteristic fact is the slight increase in the number of persons employed in domestic service and the direct decrease in the number of servants. This shows, firstly, that fewer persons can afford to employ domestic help; it shows furthermore that proletarian women who strive for greater independence, like this profession less and less.

In 1882 the number of persons engaged in agriculture as their principal calling constituted 43.38 per cent. of persons gainfully employed; in 1895, 36.19 per cent., and in 1907 only 32.69 per cent. The agricultural population —including the families of those gainfully employed in agriculture—in 1882 constituted 42.51 per cent. of the entire population; in 1895, 35.74 per cent., and in 1907 only 28.65 per cent. Those employed in industry as their principal calling constituted, in 1882, 33.69 per cent. of the entire population; in 1895, 36.14 per cent., and in 1907, 37.23 per cent. Including their families, they constituted 35.51 per cent. in 1882; 39.12 in 1895, and 42.75 in 1907. The following figures show the percentage of persons employed in commerce and traffic:

	Persons employed.	Including their families.
1882	8.27	10.02
1895	10.21	11.52
1907	11.50	13.41

We see, then, that in Germany, at present, 56.16 per cent. of the population (in Saxony even 74.5 per cent.) depend upon industry and commerce, and that not more than 28.65 per cent. (in Saxony only 10.07 per cent.) are engaged in agriculture.

2.—Increasing Pauperization. Preponderance of Large Industrial Establishments.

It is also important to state how the population employed in gainful occupations is divided among independent workers, employes and laborers, and what proportion of each of these is furnished by either sex. This information may be gathered from the table on the following page.

This table shows that the number of persons independently engaged in agriculture increased by 280,692 from 1882 to 1895, an increase of 12.5 per cent.; but that from 1895 to 1907 it decreased by 67,751, so that from 1882 to 1907 the number of independent persons in agriculture has increased by only 212,941=9.2 per cent. On the other hand the number of workingmen that had decreased by 254,025=4.3 per cent., from 1882 to 1895, has, since 1895, increased by 1,655,677=29.4 per cent. Upon examining this increase more closely we find that it is mainly due to female members helping to support the families. (Among the total increase of 1,990,930 are 170,532 male and 1,820,938 female.) When we take only the rural day-laborers and help into consideration, we find that the male workers have decreased by 381,195 persons, while the female workers have increased by 45,942 persons. Altogether this shows the considerable decrease of 335,253 persons among agricultural laborers. In agriculture, then, not only the number of independent persons, but also the number of help and day laborers has decreased. The increase in the agricultural occupation, compared to the previous census, is due to the

	Independent Persons			Employees			Wage-workers		
	1882	1895	1907	1882	1895	1907	1882	1895	1907
Agriculture:									
Male	2,010,865	2,221,826	2,172,740	60,763	78 066	82,548	3,629,959	3,239,646	3,028,983
Female	277.168	346,899	328,234	5.881	18,107	16,264	2.251,860	2,388,148	4,254,488
Total . . .	2,288,022	2,568,725	2,500,974	66,644	96,173	98,812	5,881,819	5,627,794	7,283,471
Industry:									
Male	1,621,668	1,542,272	1,499 832	96.807	254.421	622,071	3,551,014	4,963,409	7,030,427
Female	579,478	519,492	477,290	2,269	9,324	63,936	545,228	992,302	1,562,698
Total . . .	2,201,146	2,061,764	1,978,122	99,076	263,745	686,007	4,096,243	5,955,711	8,593,125
Commerce:									
Male	550,936	640,941	765,551	138,387	249,920	426,220	582,885	836,042	1,354,482
Female . . .	150,572	202 616	246,641	3,161	11,987	79,689	144,377	365,005	605,043
Total . . .	701,508	843,557	1,012,192	141,548	261,907	505,900	727,262	1,201,047	1,959,525
Altogether:									
Male	4,183,469	4.405,039	4,338,123	295,957	582,407	1,130,839	7,763,858	9,071,097	13,694,160
Female	1,007,218	1.069,007	1,052,165	11,311	39,418	159,889	2,941,455	3,745.455	4,161,961
Total . . .	5,190.685	7,474,046	5,390,288	307,268	621,825	1,290,728	10,705,324	12,816,552	17,856,121

greatly increased assistance from members of the families, especially the female members.

The industrial occupation presents a different picture. In a term of 25 years the persons independently employed decreased by 234,024=10.6 per cent., while the population increased by 36.48 per cent. Mechanics, working alone or working with two assistants, have mainly disappeared. The number of wage-workers has increased by 1,859,468 from 1882 to 1895, and by 2,637,-414 from 1895 to 1907. When we count only the wage-workers proper, not including the members of their families who assist at their work, we find that their uumber has increased from 5,899,708 in 1895 to 8,460,338 in 1907. Three-quarters of all persons employed in industrial occupations are wage-workers (75.16 per cent.).

In commerce and trade we find the opposite ratio. Here the number of persons independently engaged has greatly increased, but the number of employes and workers has increased likewise. The number of women independently engaged in commerce has increased especially; they chiefly are either widows who seek to make their living as small dealers, or married women who endeavour to increase their husbands' income. The number of persons independently engaged in commerce increased by 310,584=44.3 per cent., from 1882 to 1907. But the number of employes and wage-workers has increased still more (by 364,361=258.8, and by 1,232,263=169.4 per cent.). This shows how tremendously commerce and trade have developed, particularly from 1895 to 1907. There are almost twice as many employes as prior to that period, and among these almost six times as many female employes.

During the period from 1882 to 1907 the entire number of persons independently engaged in the three occupations increased by 5.7 per cent.; it did not keep pace then with the increase in population (36.48 per cent.). The number of employes increased by 325.4 per cent., and the number of wage-workers by 39.1 per cent. We must furthermore take into consideration that among 5,490,-288 independent persons, many lead an entirely proletarian existence. Among the 2,086,368 manufactories enumerated there were no less than 994,743 small producers

who worked alone and 875,518 who did not employ over five assistants. In commerce there were, in 1907 among 709,231 establishments, no less than 232,780 maintained by the owners without assistance. There were, besides, 5240 porters, errand-boys, etc., and thousands of insurance agents, book agents, etc.

Another point to be considered is that the number of independent persons in the three occupations does not coincide with the number of establishments. If a firm, for instance, has dozens of branch establishments, as is frequently the case in the tobacco trade, or if a concern runs a number of stores, each branch is enumerated as an individual establishment. The same is true of industrial enterprises, when, for instance, a machine factory also runs an iron foundry, a carpenter shop, etc. The figures then do not convey sufficient information regarding the concentration of capital on the one hand and the standard of living on the other. And yet, in spite of all these deficiencies, the results of the latest census of June, 12, 1907, present a picture of the most powerful concentration of capital in industry, commerce and traffic. They show that, hand in hand with the industrialization of our entire economic system, a concentration of all the means of production into a few hands is rapidly progressing.

The independent small manufacturers and traders working alone, of whom there still were 1,877,872 in 1882, have become fewer again since 1895. In 1895, 1,714,351 were enumerated, and in 1907 only 1,446,286; a decrease of 431,586=22.9 per cent. The number of small producers and dealers has rapidly decreased from census to census. In 1882 it was 59.1 per cent.; 1895, 46.5, and, 1907, only 37.3 per cent. of all persons gainfully employed. At the same time the number of large manufacturing and commercial enterprises has grown from 22.0 to 29.6, and (1907) to 37.3 per cent. From 1895 to 1907 the number of persons employed by small concerns increased by 12.2 per cent.; the number of those employed by concerns of medium size, by 48.5 per cent., and the number of those employed by large concerns, by 75.7 per cent. Among 5,350,025 persons industrially employed in 1907, the by far largest group is employed by large concerns, while, in 1882, a greater number of per-

sons were small, individual producers. In the seven following branches of industry the large concerns predominate, employing more than half of all persons engaged in these industries. Of each 100 persons the following percentage were employed by large concerns:

Mining	96.6 per cent.
Machine manufacture	70.4 "
Chemical trades	69.8 "
Textile trades	67.5 "
Paper trades	58.4 "
Industry of pottery and earthenware	52.5 "
Industry of soaps, fats and oils	52.3 "

In the other groups industry on a large scale already predominated in 1895, and everywhere its predominance has been still further increased. In the malleation of metals, 47.0; in the polygraphic trades, 43.8; in traffic, 41.6, and in the building trades, 40.5 per cent. of all persons were employed by large concerns.) We see, then, that in almost every branch development has favored industry on a large scale.

The concentration of manufacture and the concentration of capital, which are one and the same thing, take place particularly rapidly wherever capitalistic production obtains full control. Let us, for instance, consider the brewing industry. In the German brewery-tax district, excluding Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Baden and Alsace-Lorraine, there were:

	Number of breweries.		Producing 1000 hectolitres of beer.
1873	13,561	10,927	19,655
1880	11,564	10,374	21,136
1890	8,969	8,054	32,279
1900	6,903	6,283	44,734
1905	5,995	5,602	46,264
1906	5,785	5,423	45,867
1907	5,528	5,251	46,355

So the number of breweries decreased, from 1873 to 1907, by 8033=59.3 per cent.; that of breweries decreased by 5676=51.9 per cent., but the production of beer increased by 26,700,000 hectolitres = 135.7 per cent.

This signifies a downfall of the small concerns and a tremendous growth of the large concerns, whose productivity has been multiplied. In 1873, 1450 hectolitres and in 1907 8385 hectolitres were produced by each brewery. It is the same wherever capitalism rules.

Similar results are shown by the German coal-mining industry and other mining industries of the German Empire. In coal mining the number of concerns that amounted to an average of 623, from 1871 to 1875, dwindled down to 406, in 1889. But at the same time the production of coal rose from 34,485,400 tons to 67,342,200 tons, and the average number of persons employed increased from 127,074 to 239,954. The following table illustrates this process of concentration in the mining of mineral coal and brown coal, until 1907:

Year	Number of Concerns	Mineral Coal Average No. Employed	Quantity 1000 tons	Number of Concerns	Brown Coal Average No. Employed	Quantity 1000 tons
1900	338	413,693	109,290.2	569	50,911	40,498.0
1905	331	493,308	121,298.6	533	54,969	52,512.1
1906	322	511,108	137,117.9	536	58.637	56,419.6
1907	313	545,330	143,185.7	535	66,462	62,546.7

We see, then, that, in the production of mineral coal since the seventies, the number of concerns has decreased by 49.8 per cent., while the number of wage-workers employed has increased by 216.9 per cent., and the output even by 420.6 per cent. The following table shows the development in the entire mining industry:

Year	Number of concerns	Average number employed	Quantity 1000 tons
1871—75	3,034	277,878	51,056.0
1887	2,146	337,634	88,873.0
1889	1,962	368,896	99,414.0
1905	1,862	661,310	205,592.6
1906	1,862	688,853	229,146.1
1907	1,958	734,903	242,615.2

Here the number of concerns has decreased by 35.5 per cent., while the number of wage-workers employed increased by 164.4 per cent., and the output, 374.5 per cent. The number of employers had grown smaller but wealthier, and the number of proletarians had greatly increased.

In the industrial districts of the Rhine and Westpha-

lia there still were 156 mines in 1907, but 34 of these con trolled more than 50 per cent. of the output. Although the census enumerates 156 mines, the coal trust, which controls the mines with but a few exceptions, had only 76 members. To such extent the process of concentration has developed. According to the reports of February, 1908, the output of the coal trust amounted to 77.9 million tons of coal.*

In 1871 there were 306 blast-furnaces, employing 23,191 laborers and producing 1,563,682 tons of crude iron. In 1907, 303 blast furnaces, employing 45,201 laborers, produced 12,875,200 tons. In 1871 crude iron was produced at the rate of 5,110 tons for every blast-furnace; in 1907 at the rate of 42,491 tons for every blast-furnace. According to a list published in "Steel and Iron," in March, 1896, only one blast-furnace in Germany was able to produce crude iron at the rate of 820 tons in 24 hours. But in 1907 there were 12 blast-furnaces that could, within 24 hours, produce 1000 tons, and more.*

In 1871-1872, 311 factories in the beet sugar industry consumed 2,250,918 tons of beets. In 1907-1908, 365 factories consumed 13,482,750 tons. The average consumption of beets per factory was 7,237 tons during 1871-1872, and 36,939 tons during 1907-1908. This mechanical revolution does not take place in industry alone, but also in commerce and traffic. The following table shows the development of German maritime trade:

Year	Sailing vessels	Regist'd tonnage	Number of crew
1871	4,372	900,361	34,739
1901	2,272	525,140	12,922
1905	2,294	493,644	12,914
1908	2,345	433,749	12,800
1909	2,361	416,514	12,844
Less than in 1871	2,011	less 483,847	less 21,895

Sailing vessels, then, are considerably diminishing, and among those still existing the registered tonnage and the number of the crew is decreasing. In 1871 there were, for each sailing vessel, 205.9 registered tonnage and 7.9 members of the crew. In 1909 each sailing vessel had an

*Otto Hué—History of the development of the mining industries.

average of but 176.4 registered tonnage, and only 5.4 members of the crew German maritime trade by steam navigation presents a different aspect, as the following table shows:

Year	Ocean-going steamships	Regist'd tonnage	Number of crew
1871	147	81,994	4,736
1901	1,390	1,347,875	36,801
1905	1,657	1,774,072	46,747
1908	1,922	2,256,783	57,995
1909	1,953	2,302,910	58,451
More than in 1871	1,806	2,221,006	53,715

Not only had the number of steamships greatly increased, their tonnage had increased more still, but, in proportion to this increase the number of the crew had decreased. In 1871 a steamship had an average tonnage of 558 tons and a crew of 32.1 men. In 1909 it had an average freight capacity of 1230 tons and a crew of only 29 men.

The rapid increase of motor power employed is another symptom of capitalistic development. In the territory of the German "Zollverein," according to Viebahn, 99,761 horse-power were used in 1861.* In 1875, in Germany, factories employing more than five persons, used, 1,055,750 horse-power, and in 1895, 2,933,526 horse-power, almost three times the number used in 1875. Railroads, street cars and steamboats are not contained in this list.

The following list shows the amount of horse-power used in Prussia:

	Stationary steam engines	Movable boilers and traction engines
1879	888,000	47,000
1896	2,534,900	159,400
1900	3,461,700	229,600
1905	4,684,900	315,200
1906	4,995,700	334,400
1907	5,190,400	363,200

So the amount of horse-power employed in Prussia in 1907 is six times greater than in 1879. How tremendously

*A. Hesse—Statistics of Trade.

industry has developed since the census of 1895 can be seen by the fact that the number of stationary engines in Prussia has increased by 35 per cent. from 1896 to 1907. The productiveness of the machines has increased by 105 per cent. during this period. While, in 1898, 3,309 steam engines of 258,726 horse-power served to run dynamos, there are 6,191 of 954,945 horse-power in 1907. That is an increase of 87 and 269 per cent.* The following figures show the increased application of steam-power in the most important industries (expressed in horsepower):

Industry	1879	1897	1907
Mining and foundries	516,000	1,430,000	2,284,000
Masonry and bricks	29,000	132,000	255,000
Metallurgy	23,000	57,000	113,000
Machines	22,000	61,000	329,000
Textile	88,000	243,000	323,000**

Notwithstanding this fabulous development of the productive powers and the immense concentration of capital, attempts are still being made to deny these truths. Such an attempt was made at the eleventh session of the International Institute of Statistics in Copenhagen in August, 1907, by the French economist, Ives Guyot. On the basis of careless statistics, he moved to abolish the word "concentration" from statistics. Among others, Carl Buecher answered him as follows: "An absolute increase in the number of manufactories may easily coincide with a concentration of same. Wherever the census enumerates individual establishments, it is unavoidable that many should be counted twice. A bank with 100 trust-funds is counted as 101; a brewery that has opened and fitted out 50 saloons, is counted as 51 establishments. The results of such statistics prove nothing in regard to the phenomenon in question. Investigation so far shows that agriculture alone does not seem to be subjected to the process of concentration. It is evident in mining,

*A. Hesse—Statistics of Trades.

**Prof. Dr. S Reyer Kraft—Economic, Technical and Historical Studies in the Development of the Power of States.

commerce, transportation, building trades and insurance. In industry it is difficult to recognize, because every civilized nation in a healthy state of development must present an extension of industrial production, for the following four reasons: 1. Because occupations that were formerly domestic in character have been taken over by industry 2. Because natural products have been replaced by industrial products (wood by iron; woad, madder and indigo by tar-colors, etc.). 3. Because of new inventions (automobiles). 4. Because of the possibility of exportation. For these reasons concentration on a large scale takes place in industry without any diminution in the number of establishments, even with an increase in same. Wherever industry creates commodities ready for use of a typical character, the destruction of the independent small concerns is inevitable. The capitalistic forms of production are accordingly rapidly developing in the most important lines of industry. It is not wise to oppose the Socialists where they are right, and they are undoubtedly right in their assertions in regard to increasing concentration."*

The same aspect presented by the economic development of Germany is presented by all the industrial states of the world. All the civilized states endeavour to become industrial states more and more. They not only seek to manufacture articles of industry to supply their own demand, but also to export them. Therefore we not only speak of a national market, but also of the **world market.** The world market regulates the prices of countless articles of industry and agriculture and controls the social status of the nations. That industrial realm which has attained the greatest importance in regard to the relations of the world market, is the North American Union. Here the main impetus is given whereby the world market and bourgeois society are revolutionized. The census of the last three decades showed the following figures:

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*Bulletin de l'institut international de statistique. Copenhagen, 1908.

Amount of capital invested in industry.

1880	2,790,000,000 dollars
1890	6,525,000,000 "
1900	9,813,000,000 "

Value of Industry.

1880	5,369,000,000 dollars
1890	9,372,000,000 "
1900	13,000,000,000 "

The United States, accordingly, is the leading industrial country of the world. Its exportation of products of industry and agriculture increase with each year, and the tremendous accumulations of capital that are a natural result of this development seek investment beyond the boundaries of the country, and influence the industry and trade of Europe to a marked degree. It is no longer the individual capitalist who is the motive power underlying this development. It is the group of captains of industry, the trust, that is bound to crush the most powerful individual enterprise, wherever it chooses to turn its activities. What can the small man amount to in the face of such development, to which even the great must yield?

3.—Concentration of Wealth.

It is an economic law that, with the concentration of industry and its increased productivity, the number of workers employed relatively decreases, while the wealth of a nation, in proportion to the entire population, becomes concentrated in fewer hands. That can be clearly seen by the distribution of the income in various civilized countries.

Of the larger German states, Saxony possesses the oldest and best statistics on the income tax. The present law is in force since 1879. But it is advisable to take a later year, because during the first years the assessments were, on an average, too low. The population of Saxony increased by 51 per cent. from 1880 to 1905. The number of persons assessed increased by 160 per cent. from 1882 to 1904; the assessed income by 23 per cent. Until the

beginning of the nineties an income up to 300 marks per annum was exempt from taxation, after that up to 400 marks. In 1882 the number of persons exempt from taxes were 75,697=6.61 per cent.; in 1904, 205,667= 11.03 per cent. It must be noted that, in Saxony, the incomes of wives and of members of the family under 16 are added to the income of the husband and father. The taxpayers having an income from 400 to 800 marks formed 48 per cent. of those assessed in 1882; in 1904 only 43.81 per cent. A part of them had advanced into a class with a higher income. The average income of the taxpayers of this class had increased by 37 per cent—from 421 to 582 marks—during this period, but still remained behind the average of 600 marks. The taxpayers having an income from 800 to 1250 marks formed 12 per cent. of those assessed in 1882, and 24.38 per cent. in 1904. But those with an income from 1250 to 3300 marks formed 20 per cent. in 1882 and only 16.74 per cent. in 1904. In 1863 Lassalle computed that only 4 per cent. of all incomes in Prussia were over 3000 marks annually. When we consider that, in the meantime, rents, taxes and the cost of living have increased, and that the demands in regard to the standard of living have grown, it becomes evident that the position of the masses has relatively scarcely improved. The medium incomes of from 3,400 to 10,000 marks in 1904 formed only 3.24 per cent. of those assessed, and the incomes of over 10,000 marks less than 1 per cent. The number of taxpayers with incomes from 12,000 to 20,000 marks, 0.80 per cent. The number of incomes of over 12,000 marks has increased from 4,124, in 1882, to 11,771, in 1904; that is, by 188 per cent. The highest income in 1882 was 2,570,000 marks; in 1906, 5,900,600 marks. These figures show the following facts: The lower incomes have increased somewhat, but in many cases this increase has been more than equalized by the increased cost of living. The middle classes experienced the least improvement; but the number and the income of the richest people show the greatest increase. Accordingly the class extremes became more marked.

In his investigations of the distribution of income in Prussia from 1892 to 1902, Professor Adolf Wagner has

ascertained the following facts. He divides the population of Prussia into three large groups: The lower group (lowest up to 420 marks; medium, 420 to 900; highest, 900 to 2,100); the middle group (lowest, 2,100 to 3,000; medium, 3,000 to 6,000; highest, 6,000 to 9,500 marks); the upper group (lowest from 9,500 to 30,500; medium, 30,500 to 100,000, and highest over 100,000). The entire income is divided almost equally among these three groups. The 3.51 per cent. of the upper group control 32.1 per cent. of the entire income. The lower group, including the 70.66 per cent. of those exempt from taxation, also controls an income of 32.9 per cent. of the entire income; and the middle group, with 25.83 per cent. controls 34.9 per cent. of the entire income. If we take into consideration only those incomes that are subject to taxation, we find that all those having an income from 900 to 3000 marks, who formed 86.99 per cent. of those enumerated in 1892, and 88.04 per cent, in 1902, controlled over half of the assessable income, 51.05 per cent., in 1892, and 52.1 per cent. in 1902. Incomes of over 3000 marks, which formed, respectively, 13 and 12 per cent. of those enumerated, controlled about 49 per cent. of the entire assessable income in 1892 and 48 per cent. in 1902. The average income of the small taxpayers throughout Prussia amounted to 1374 in 1892 and to 1348 in 1902; it had, accordingly, diminished to 1.89 per cent. On the other hand the average income of the large taxpayers has increased from 8,811 marks, in 1892, to 9,118 marks, in 1902, or by 3.48 per cent. Upon the upper group, which formed only 0.5 per cent. of all those enumerated in 1892 and 0.63 per cent. in 1902, 15.95 percent. of the entire income devolved in 1892, and 18.37 per cent. in 1902. The increase is slightest with the lowest and medium class of the middle group. It is somewhat greater with the highest class of the lower group. But it is greatest and increasingly great from class to class, with the highest class of the middle group and with the entire upper group. The greater the income of a group of those enumerated, the richer they are; the more, accordingly, their number relatively increases. The number of those having high and highest incomes increases, who, on an average, also attain increasingly large incomes. In other

words, a growing concentration of incomes takes place, not only among particularly rich individuals, but among the economically high and highest group of the population, that is rapidly growing and yet comprises a relatively small number. "This shows that the modern economic development has indeed been favorable to the entire population by increasing the income and by increasing the number of members of each economic-social class, but that the distribution has been a very uneven one, the rich being mostly favored, then the lower classes, and the middle class least. It shows, accordingly, that the social class differences, inasmuch as they depend upon the size of the income, have increased."*

The Prussian income-tax assessments of 1908 show that there were 104,904 taxpayers with an income of more than 9,500 marks, representing a total income of 3,123,273,000 marks. Among these were 3,796 with an income of more than 100,000 marks, representing a total income of 934,000,000 marks; 77 were enumerated with an income of more than a million. The 104,904 taxpayers, or 1.78 per cent., with an income of more than 9,500 marks, represented the same total income as the 3,109,540 (52.9 per cent.), with an income of from 900 to 1,350 marks.

In Austria about 24 per cent. of the assessed net income devolved upon approximately 12 to 13 per cent. of the taxpayers having incomes of from 4,000 to 12,000 crowns. If the incomes up to 12,000 crowns are taken together, this group comprises over 97 per cent. of the taxpayers and 74 per cent. of the income. **The remaining 3 per cent. of the taxpayers control 26 per cent. of the assessed income.**** The minimum exempt from taxation is higher in Austria than in Prussia—1,200 crowns, or 1,014 marks. The small taxpayers having an income of from 1,200 to 4,000 crowns formed 84.3 of all taxpayers in 1904. The number of richest persons having an in-

*Adolf Wagner—A contribution to the method of statistics of the national income and national wealth and further statistic investigations of the distribution of the national income in Prussia, founded on the new income statistics, 1892—1902. Gazette of the royal Prussian bureau of statistics, 1904.

**F. L.—The distribution of the income in Austria. Leipzig, 1908.

come of more than 200,000 crowns was 255 in 1898, and in 1904 it was 307, or 0.032 per cent. of all taxpayers.

In Great Britain and Ireland, according to L. G. Chiozza Money, half of the national income (over 4,150,000,000 dollars) belongs to one-ninth of the population. He divides the population into three groups: The rich, with an income of more than 700 pounds sterling; the wealthy, with an income of from 160 to 700 pounds sterling; and the poor, with an income of less than 160 pounds sterling.

Class	Persons	Including families	Income in pounds sterling
Rich	250,000	1,250,000	585,000,000
Wealthy	750,000	3,750,000	245,000,000
Poor 5,000,000		38,000,000	880,000,000

According to these figures, more than one-third of the national income belongs to one-thirtieth of the population. The investigations of Booth for London, and of Rowntree for York, have shown that thirty per cent. of the entire population lead an existence of direst life-long poverty.*

For France, E. Levasseur compiled the following figures, on the basis of the statistics of inheritance: "Two-fifths of the national wealth are owned by 98 per cent. having less than 100,000 francs; about one-third is owned by a small group of 1.7 per cent., and a quarter of the entire national wealth belongs to a wee minority—0.12 per cent."**

All these figures show how great are the numbers of the non-possessing masses, and how thin the strata of the possessing classes.

"The growing inequality," says G. Schmoller, "is undeniable. It cannot be doubted that the distribution of wealth in Central Europe, from 1300 to 1900, became increasingly unequal, though of course the inequalities varied in the different countries. Recent development, with its growing class distinctions, has greatly increased the inequalities in income and wealth."***

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*L'. G. Chiozza Money. Riches and Poverty. London, 1908.

**E. Levasseur.

***G. Schmoller—Principles of Economics. Vol. II.

This capitalistic process of development and concentration, that takes place in all civilized countries, combined with the prevailing anarchy in the methods of production, that so far was unable to prevent the formation of trusts, inevitably leads to overproduction and to an overstocking of the market. We enter upon the crisis.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CRISIS AND COMPETITION.

1.—Causes and Effects of the Crises.

The crisis arises because no standard exists whereby the real demand for a commodity may at any time be measured and ascertained. There is no power in bourgeois society that is enabled to regulate the entire production. In the first place, the consumers of a commodity are scattered over a wide area, and the purchasing ability of the consumers, who determine the consumption, is influenced by a number of causes that no individual producer is able to control. Moreover, every individual producer must compete with a number of other producers whose productive abilities are unknown to him. Each one seeks to defeat his competitors by every means at his command: by a reduction in prices, by advertising, by giving credit for prolonged periods, by sending out drummers, and even by cunningly and insiduously disparaging the products of his competitors, the latter means being especially frequently resorted to during critical times. The entire realm of production accordingly depends upon the subjective discretion of the individual. Every manufacturer must dispose of a certain quantity of goods in order to subsist. But he seeks to sell a far larger quantity, for this increased sale determines not only his larger income, but also the probability of his triumphing over his competitors. For a while sales are insured, they even increase; this leads to more extensive enterprises and to increased production. But good times and favorable conditions tempt not only one but all manufacturers to multi-

ply their efforts. Production by far exceeds the demand. Suddenly it becomes manifest that the market is overstocked with goods. The sales slacken, the prices fall, production is limited. To limit production in any branch means to decrease the number of workers employed in this branch, and a reduction in wages, whereby the workers in turn are compelled to limit their consumption. The inevitable result is, that production and consumption in other branches slacken likewise. Small dealers of all kinds, shopkeepers, bakers, butchers, etc. whose chief customers are workingmen fail to dispose of their goods and also suffer want.

The effects of such a crisis may be seen from the statistics of the unemployed that were compiled by the trade-unions of Berlin at the close of January, 1902. In Berlin and suburban towns there where over 70,000 persons who were entirely unemployed, and over 60,000 who were partly unemployed. On February 13, 1909, the trade-unions of Berlin took another census of the unemployed and found that there were 106,722 unemployed persons (92,655 men and 14,067 women).* In England there were 750,000 unemployed persons during September 1908. These figures represent workingmen and women who were willing and eager to work but unable to find work. The deplorable social conditions of these human beings may be easily imagined!

Since one industry furnishes the raw material to another and one depends upon the other, the ills that befall one must affect the others. The circle of those affected widens. Many obligations that had been entered upon in the hope of prolonged favorable conditions cannot be met, and heighten the crisis that grows worse from month to month. A heap of accumulated goods, tools and machines becomes almost worthless. The goods are frequently sold underprice and this often leads to the ruin of the owners of such goods as well as to the ruin of dozens of others who in turn are compelled to sell their goods underprice also. But even during the crisis the methods of production are constantly improved in order to meet the in-

*Unemployment and Statistics of the Unemployed in the Winter of 1908 to 1909. Berlin, 1909.

creased competition, and this means again forms a cause for new crises. After a crisis has lasted for years and over-production has gradually been removed by selling the products underprice, by limiting production and by the ruin of smaller manufacturers, society slowly begins to recuperate. The demand increases again, and promptly the production increases also, slowly and carefully at first, but more rapidly with the prolonged duration of favorable conditions. People seek to reimburse themselves for what they have lost and seek to secure their portions before a new crisis sets in. But as all manufacturers are guided by the same impulse, as they all seek to improve the means of production in order to excel the others, a new catastrophe is ushered in more rapidly and with still more disastrous results. Countless lives rise and fall like bubbles, and this constant reciprocal action causes the awful conditions that we experience during every crisis. The crises become more frequent as production and competition increase, not only among individuals, but among entire nations. The small battle for customers, and the great battle for markets becomes increasingly severe and is bound to end with enormous losses. Meanwhile goods and supplies are stored away in masses, but countless human beings who wish to consume but are unable to buy, suffer hunger and privation.

The years 1901 and 1907-08 have proven the correctness of this representation. After years of business depression, during which capitalistic development nevertheless continued to progress uninterruptedly, the upward course set in, stimulated to no slight extent by the changes and new equipments that the army and navy required. During this period a tremendous number of new industrial enterprises sprang up, and a great many others were increased and expanded to attain the development made possible by their technical means and to heighten their productivity. But in the same way the number of enterprises increased that were transferred from the hands of individual capitalists to capitalistic associations (stock companies), a transformation that is always accompanied by an enlargement of the manufactory. Many thousands of millions of marks represent the newly formed stock companies,

Moreover, the capitalists of all countries seek to form national and international agreements. Trusts spring up like mushrooms from the ground. These endeavour to determine the prices and to regulate production on the basis of exact statistical research to avoid over-production and reduction in prices. Entire branches of industry have been monopolized in this way to the advantage of the manufacturers and to the disadvantage of the workers and the consumers. Many believed that thereby capital had obtained the means that would enable it to dominate the market in all directions. But appearances are deceiving. The laws of capitalistic production prove stronger than the most cunning representatives of the system, who believed to have regulated it. The crisis came, nevertheless, and it was seen again that the wisest calculation proved faulty and that bourgeois society cannot escape its fate.

But capitalism continues in the same manner since it cannot change its substance. By the way in which it is bound to act, it upsets all laws of bourgeois economics. Unrestricted competition—the alpha and omega of bourgeois society—is supposed to place those most capable at the helm of all enterprises. But experience shows that as a rule it places those at the helm who are most shrewd and cunning and least troubled by a conscience. Moreover, stock companies set aside all individuality. The trust goes further still. Here not only does the individual manufacturer cease to be an independent person, the stock company too becomes a mere link in a chain that is controlled by a board of capitalists whose main purpose is to plunder the public. A hand full of monopolists become the masters of society; these dictate the prices to be paid by the consumers for commodities, and to the workers their wages and standard of living.

This development shows how superfluous private enterprise has become, and that production conducted on a national and international scale is the goal toward which society is bent. The only difference will ultimately be that organized production and distribution **will benefit the entire community instead of benefiting the capitalistic class only, as is the case to-day.**

The economic revolution above described, which is rapidly driving bourgeois society to the heights of its development, is constantly intensified by new, important events. While Europe is being more threatened each year, both in its foreign and domestic markets, by the rapidly growing North American competition, new enemies are arising in the far East who make the economic conditions of the entire world still more critical.

Competition drives the capitalist around the globe, as the Communist Manifesto expresses it. He is constantly seeking new markets, that is, countries and nations where he can dispose of his goods and create new demands. One side of this endeavour may be seen from the fact that since a few decades the various states are eagerly engaged in colonization. Germany was foremost among these and succeeded in taking possession of large tracts of land, but these possessions are chiefly occupied by people of a very primitive degree of civilization who have no demand worth speaking of for European products. The other side of this endeavour is directed toward carrying capitalistic civilization to nations who have already attained a higher degree of civilization, but who until recently were rigorously opposed to modern development. Such are the East Indians, the Japanese, and especially the Chinese. These are nations that comprise more than one third of the entire population of the earth. When once given an impetus they are well able—as the Japanese have already demonstrated during the war with Russia—to develop the capitalistic method of production quite independently, and to do so, moreover, under conditions that will be accompanied by disastrous results to the more advanced nations. The ability and skill of these nations is well known, but it is equally well known that their wants are few—due to a great extent to the warm climate—and that, when compelled to do so, they rapidly adapt themselves to changed conditions. Here the old world, including the United States, is being confronted by a new competitor who will demonstrate to the whole world that the capitalistic system is untenable. In the meanwhile, the competing nations, especially the United States, England and Germany, seek to outdo one another, and all means are resorted to in order to obtain the largest possible

share in the control of the world's market. This leads to international politics, to interference in all international events of importance, and in order to interfere successfully, the navies especially are developed and increased as never before, whereby the danger of great political catastrophes is heightened anew. Thus the political realm grows with the realm of economic competition. The contradictions grow on an international scale, and in all countries that have undergone a capitalistic development they bring forth similar phenomena and similar struggles. Not only the method of production but also the manner of distribution is responsible for these unbearable conditions.

2.—Intermediate Trade and the Increased Cost of Living.

In human society all individuals are linked to one another by a thousand threads that become more complicated and interwoven with increasing civilization. When disturbances occur they are felt by all members. Disturbances in production affect distribution and consumption and vice versa. A marked characteristic of capitalistic production is the concentration of the means of production in increasingly large factories. In distribution the opposite trait becomes manifest. Whoever has been driven by competition out of the ranks of independent producers, in nine cases out of ten seeks to win a place as dealer between producer and consumer to obtain a living.* This accounts for the surprising increase of per-

*"The decline of ancient handicraft is not the only cause that accounts for the great increase in the small retail trade. The growing industrialization and commercialization of the country notwithstanding its tendency toward manufacture on a large scale always furnishes new ground for small businesses. Inventions that create new branches of industry also cause the rise of new small establishments for the distribution of these products. But the main cause of the great increase in retail trade is,—as expressed in a report submitted to the government of Saxony by the Dresden chamber of commerce,—that trade on a small scale has become the rallying place of many persons who despair of making their living in any other way." Paul Lange—Retail Trade and Middle Class Politics. "New Era."

sons engaged in intermediate trade, dealers, small shopkeepers, hucksters, agents, jobbers, etc. as has been statistically proven in a previous chapter. Most of these persons, among whom we find many women independently engaged in business, lead a precarious existence. Many, in order to subsist, must cater to the basest fashions of their fellow-men. This accounts for the tremendous prevalence of advertising especially in regard to everything in connection with the gratification of the love of luxury.

Now it cannot be denied that in modern society the desire for the enjoyment of life is very noticeable, and viewed from a higher standard this fact is gratifying. People begin to understand that in order to be human they must lead lives worthy of human beings, and they seek to gratify this desire in the manner in which they conceive the enjoyment of life. In the display of wealth society has become much more aristocratic than in any former period. The contrast between the richest and the poorest is greater than ever. On the other hand, society has become more democratic in its ideas and laws.* The masses demand greater equality, and since in their ignorance, they do not yet recognize the means to achieve true equality, they seek it in trying to ape those in superior social positions and to obtain every enjoyment within their reach. Various stimulants serve to gratify this desire and the results are frequently detrimental. A desire that is justified in itself leads to devious paths in many cases; it even leads to crimes, and society punishes the perpetrators without changing matters in the least.

The growing number of persons engaged in intermediate trade has led to many evils. Though the persons thus engaged work hard and are frequently burdened with care, most of them form a class of parasites who are unproductive and live on the products of the labor of others as well as the employing class. An increased cost

*In his first adaption of Raus's "Text Book of Political Economy," Professor Adolf Wagner expresses a similar thought. He says: "The social struggle is the conscious contradiction between the economic development and the social ideal of freedom and equality as expressed in political life."

of living is the inevitable result of intermediate trade. The price of provisions is thereby raised to such extent that they sometimes cost twice and three times as much as is obtained by the producer.* But if provisions can not be raised in price any more, because a further raise would limit the consumption, they are diminished in quantity and quality, adulteration of food and the use of incorrect weights and measures is resorted to. The chemist Chevalier reports that among various articles of food he found the following number of methods of adulteration: coffee, 32; wine, 30; chocolate, 28; flour, 24; whiskey, 23; bread, 20; milk, 19; butter, 10; olive oil, 9; sugar, 6, etc. A great deal of fraud is practiced in the grocery stores with goods that have been previously measured or weighed and packed. Frequently only 12 or 14 ounces are sold for a pound, and in this way the lower price is made up for. Workingmen and other persons of small means suffer most from these fraudulent methods, because they are obliged to buy on credit and must therefore hold their peace even where the fraud is perfectly evident. In the bakery trade also incorrect weight is frequently resorted to. Swindle and

*In his book on "Domestic Industry in Thuringia," Dr. E. Sax tells us that in 1869 the production of 244½ million slate pencils had yielded 122,000 to 200,000 florins in wages to the workingmen, but their final sale had yielded 1,200,000 florins, at least six times as much as the producers had received. During the summer of 1888, 5 marks were paid for 5 hundred-weights of haddock by the wholesaler. But the retailer paid 15 marks to the wholesaler, and the public paid the latter 125 marks. Large quantities of food moreover are destroyed because the prices do not make their transportation worth while. For instance, during years when the catch of herrings has been an over abundant one, loads of them have been used as manure, while there were thousands of persons in the interior who could not afford to buy herrings. The same occurred in California in 1892 when the crop of potatoes was too abundant. When in 1901 the price of sugar was very low, a trade paper seriously suggested to destroy a greater part of the supplies so that the price could be raised. It is well known that Charles Fourier was inspired to his ideas of a social system because while he served as apprentice in a commercial house in Toulon, he had been ordered to throw a load of rice over board to raise the prices. He reasoned that a society which resorts to such barbarous and irrational methods must be founded on a false basis, and so he became a socialist.

fraud are inevitably linked with our social conditions, and certain institutions of the state, for instance high indirect taxes and duties, favor swindle and fraud. The laws enacted against the adultery of food accomplish but little. The struggle for existence compels the swindlers to resort to more cunning methods, and a thoroughgoing and severe control rarely exists. Serious control is also made impossible because it is claimed that in order to detect every adultery, an expensive and extensive organization would be required and that legitimate business would also be damaged thereby. But whereever the control does interfere successfully, a considerable increase in prices ensues, because the low prices were possible only by means of adulteration.

In order to diminish these evils from which the masses always and everywhere suffer most, cooperative stores have been established. In Germany especially army and navy stores and civil service stores have been developed to such an extent, that many commercial enterprises were ruined by them. But the workingmen's cooperative stores have also developed tremendously during the last decade and have partly even undertaken the manufacture of certain commodities. The cooperative stores in Hamburg, Leipsic, Dresden, Stuttgart, Breslau, Vienna, etc., have become model establishments and the annual sales of the German cooperative stores amount to hundreds of millions of marks. Since a few years the German cooperative stores have central establishments in Hamburg where the goods are purchased wholesale on the largest scale; this enables the various branch stores to obtain these goods at the lowest possible price. These cooperative stores prove that the scattering methods of intermediate trade are superfluous. That is their greatest advantage beside the other advantage that they furnish reliable goods. The material advantages to their members are not very great nor do they suffice to bring about any marked improvement in their social status. But the establishment of these cooperative stores proves the existence of a widespread recognition that intermediate trade is superfluous. Society will ultimately achieve an organization that will do away with commerce, since the products will be turned over to the consumers without the aid of other interme-

diate agents than are required by transportation from one place to another and by distribution. When the common purchase of food has been achieved, the common preparation of food on a large scale appears to be the next logical step. This again would lead to a tremendous saving in labor power, space, material and many other expenses.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Revolution in Agriculture.

1.—Transatlantic Competition and Desertion of the Country.

The economic revolution in industry and trade has also largely affected agricultural conditions. The commercial and industrial crises affect the rural population likewise. Hundreds of thousands of members of the families of farmers are temporarily or permanently employed in industrial establishments of various kinds. This manner of employment constantly expands, firstly, because the great number of small farmers do not have enough work on their own farms to keep themselves and the members of their families usefully employed, and, secondly, because the large farmers find it profitable to have an important portion of the products of their soil transformed into industrial commodities right on their own farms. In this manner they save the heavy expense of shipping the raw material, for instance, potatoes and grain for the manufacture of alcohol, beets for sugar, cereals for flour or for brewing beer, etc. They, furthermore, are enabled to establish a mutual relation between agricultural and industrial production and can employ the labor power on hand to better advantage. The wages are lower and the workers are more willing too than those in cities and industrial centers. Expenses of buildings and rents as well as taxes are considerably lower too, for the large land owners in the rural districts are both the makers and executors of the law; they furnish many representatives from their midst and control the administration and police force. That is why the number of factories in the

country increases each year. Agriculture and industry are becoming more and more closely linked, and the large agricultural establishments mainly profit from this fact.

The capitalistic development that the large estates have undergone, in Germany as elsewhere, has created conditions similar to those in England and the United States. We no longer meet with those ideal conditions in the country that still existed a few decades ago. Modern civilization has gradually taken possession of the country, too, in the remotest places even. Militarism especially has unintentionally exercised a revolutionary influence. The great increase in the standing army has made itself especially severely felt in the open country. A great portion of the troops for the standing army is drawn from the rural population. But when the peasant's son, or day laborer or farm-hand, returns to the country, after an absence of two or three years, from the city and the barracks, where the atmosphere has not been an exactly moral one, he has become acquainted with many new ideas and requirements of civilization that he seeks to satisfy at home as he did away from home. To make this possible his first demand is for higher wages. The old modesty and contentedness have been shattered in the city. In many cases he prefers to stay away from the country altogether, and all endeavours, supported by the military authorities, to lead him back, remain unsuccessful. Improved means of traffic and communication also tend to raise the standard of requirements in the country. By his associations with the city the farmer becomes acquainted with the world in an entirely new and tempting way; he is influenced by ideas and learns of requirements of civilization that have been entirely foreign to him until then. That causes him to become dissatisfied with his position. The increased demands made upon the population by state, county, community, etc., effect the peasant as well as the rural worker and make them more rebellious still. To this other most important factors must be added.

European agriculture, and especially German agriculture, has entered upon a new phase of its development since the close of the seventies of the last century.

While, until then, the nations depended upon the farm products of their own agriculture, or, as England, upon that of the neighboring countries—France and Germany —the situation now began to change. As a result of the tremendously improved means of transportation—navigation and the construction of railways in North America—provisions began to be shipped from there to Europe and lowered the prices of grain, so that cultivation of the chief kinds of grain in Middle and Western Europe became far less profitable, unless the entire conditions of production could be changed. Moreover, the realm of international grain production greatly expanded. Besides Russia and Roumania, who made every endeavour to increase their export of grain, products from Argentine Republic, Australia, India and Canada appeared upon the market. In the course of development another unfavorable factor was added. Influenced by the causes above enumerated, the small farmers and rural workers began to desert the country. They either emigrated beyond the seas or scores of them moved from the country to the cities and industrial centers, so that labor power in the country became scarce. The antiquated, patriarchal conditions, especially in Eastern Europe, the ill-treatment and almost servile status of the farm-hands and servants still heightened this desertion of the country. To what extent this shifting of the population has effected the rural districts from 1840 until the census of 1905, may be seen from the fact that during this period the Prussian provinces—East-Prussia, West Prussia, Pomerania, Posen, Silesia, Saxony and Hannover—lost 4,049,200 persons, and Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and Alsace-Lorraine had a loss of 2,026,500, while Berlin increased by migration by about 1,000,000 persons, Hamburg by 402,000, the Kingdom of Saxony by 326,200, the Rhine provinces by 343,000, and Westphalia by 246,100.*

2.—Peasants and Great Landowners.

As a result of all these changes, agriculture began to suffer from a want of capital. Accordingly the former

*Quarterly Gazette for Statistics of the German Empire.

line of development, whereby the great landowner bought up the small and medium-sized farmers and made them part of his property, gave way to the opposite tendency. But this pressure also brought about, that the clumsy character of agricultural enterprises was gradually modified, because people recognized that it would no longer do to follow the beaten path, but that it had become necessary to adopt new methods. The national government, as well as the state governments, endeavored to relieve agriculture from its exigency by appropriate trade and tariff policies and by direct expenditures for various improvements. Recently the medium and great landowners are quite successful again wherever the farms are conducted in keeping with modern technical development, as may be gathered from the fact that the prices of farms have greatly increased.

If agriculture is to prosper in capitalistic society, it is necessary that it should be conducted by capitalistic methods. Here, as in industry, it is important that human labor should be replaced or aided by machinery and technical improvements. That this is being done may be seen from the following: During the period from 1882 to 1895 the number of steam-ploughs employed in agriculture in Germany has increased from 836 to 1696, and the number of steam-threshing machines has increased from 75,690 to 259,364. Compared to what might be done in the way of agricultural machinery, these figures are still exceedingly low and prove the undeveloped state of agriculture; they also prove that lack of means and the small size of the individual farms have so far made the application of machinery impossible. The machine, in order to be truly advantageous, requires application on a large area of land devoted to cultivation of the same kind of crop. The great number of small and medium-sized farms, the scattered fields and the great variety of crops have prevented a successful application of machinery. The tables on page 351 show how the farming area is distributed in the German Empire.*

*Karl Kautsky—The Agrarian question and temporary results of the agricultural census of June 12, 1901. Quarterly Gazette for Statistics of the German Empire, 1909.

Among the 5,736,082 farms counted in 1907 there were no less than 4,384,786 of less than 5 hectares=76.8 per cent., that can furnish but a poor existence to their owners, unless the soil is particularly good, or unless devoted to horticulture. A great many of them could not even be used in this way, since there are 2,731,055 farms among them of one hectare, and less, in area.

Farms	Number of Farms			Increase or Decrease	
	1882	1895	1907	From 1882 to 1895	From 1895 to 1907
Less than 2 hectares	3,061,831	3,236,367	3,378,509	+ 174,536	+ 142,142
2 to 5 ha.	981,407	1,016,318	1,006,277	+ 34,911	— 10,041
5 " 20 "	926,605	998,804	1,065,539	+ 72,199	+ 66,735
20 " 100 "	281,510	281,767	262,191	+ 257	— 19,576
Over 100 "	24,991	25,061	23,566	+ 70	— 1,495
	5,276,344	5,558,317	5,736,082	+ 281,973	+ 177,765

Farms	Farming area in hectares			Increase or Decrease	
	1882	1895	1907	From 1882 to 1895	From 1895 to 1907
Less than 2 hectares	1,825,938	1,808,444	1,731,317	- 17,494	— 77,127
2 to 5 ha.	3,190,203	3,285,984	3,304,872	+ 95,781	+ 18,888
5 " 20 "	9,158,398	9,721,875	10,421,565	+ 568,477	+ 699,690
20 " 100 "	9,908,170	9,869,837	9,322,106	— 38,333	— 547,731
Over 100 "	7,786,263	7,831,801	7,055,013	+ 45,538	— 776,788
	31,868,972	32,517,941	31,834,873	+ 648,969	— 683,068

But even among the farms of more than 5 hectares there are many that yield only a poor product, notwithstanding hard and long labor, owing to poor soil, unfavorable climate, bad location, lack of proper means of transportation, etc. It may be said without exaggeration that fully nine-tenths of the farmers lack the means and the knowledge to cultivate their soil as it might be cultivated. Neither do the small peasants receive a fair price for their products, since they depend upon the intermediate trader. The dealer who traverses the coun-

try on definite days or in definite seasons and usually trades off his merchandise to other dealers again, must obtain his profit. But to gather in the many small quantities means much more trouble to him than to procure a large quantity from a great landowner. The peasants owning small and medium-sized farms therefore receive less for their products than the great landowners, and if their products are of inferior quality, which is frequently the case owing to their primitive methods, they must accept almost any price. Sometimes they cannot even wait for the time when their product will bring the highest price. They owe money on rent, interest and taxes, they must repay loans, or must settle bills with tradespeople and mechanics, therefore they are obliged to sell no matter how unfavorable the time may be. In order to improve their property, or to satisfy joint-heirs or children they have mortgaged their farms. As they have few lenders to choose from, the conditions are not very favorable. A high rate of interest and definite dates of payment weigh heavily on them. A poor harvest or a faulty speculation in regard to the kind of product that they expected to sell at a good price often drive them to the verge of ruin. Sometimes the products are bought and the capital is loaned by one and the same person, and in that event the peasant is entirely in the hands of his creditor. In this manner the peasants of entire villages and districts are sometimes in the hands of a few creditors. This is the case with the peasants who raise hops, wine, tobacco, and vegetables in Southern Germany, and on the Rhine, and with small farmers in Central Germany. The creditor fleeces the peasants mercilessly. He allows them to remain on their farms as apparent owners, but as a matter of fact they no longer own them. Frequently the capitalistic exploiter finds this method far more profitable than to cultivate the land himself, or to sell it. In this manner thousands of peasants are recorded as owners of farms who are virtually not the owners. As a matter of fact, many great landowners, too, who managed badly or were unfortunate or took the property under unfavorable conditions, fell victims to capitalistic extortioners. The capitalist becomes master

of the soil, and, in order to increase his profits, he divides up the farm into lots, because in this way he can obtain a far higher price than if he sold it undivided. With a number of small proprietors he furthermore has the best prospect to continue his usurious trade. As is well known, in the city, too, those houses yield the highest rents that contain the largest number of small apartments. A small number of farmers take the opportunity and buy portions of the divided estate. The capitalistic benefactor is willing to turn over larger portions to them also upon a small payment. The remainder of the price he takes as mortgage at a high rate of interest, and there the difficulty begins. If the small farmer is fortunate and succeeds in making his farm pay he escapes; otherwise his lot will be as described above. If the small farmer loses some of his cattle, that is a great misfortune for him; if he has a daughter who marries, the purchase of her outfit increases his debts and he loses a cheap labor power; if a son marries, the latter demands his share of the farm, or a payment in money. Frequently he cannot afford even necessary improvements. If his stock does not provide sufficient manure—as is often the case—his soil becomes poorer in quality, because he cannot afford to buy manure. Sometimes he is too poor to buy good seed even; the use of machinery is denied him, and a change of crop adapted to the chemical nature of his soil is frequently unfeasible. Neither can he apply advantageous methods offered by science and experience in the improvement of his stock. Lack of proper fodder, lack of proper stalls, lack of other necessary appliances, prevents it. So there are many causes that make existence difficult to the small farmer.

It is quite different with the large estates, where a comparatively small number of farms cover a large area. We see from the statistics that 23,566 farms, having an area of 7,055,013 hectares of cultivated soil, cover 2,019,824 hectares more than the 4,384,786 farms having an area of less than five hectares. But the numbers of the farms and the numbers of the owners do not coincide. In 1895 there were no less than 912,959 leased farms of all sizes, 1,694,251 farms that were partly owned and partly leased,

and 983,917 farms that were cultivated in different ways, as farms loaned to officials, as part of communal property, etc. On the other hand, single individuals own a number of agricultural estates. The greatest German landowner is the King of Prussia, who owns 83 estates, with an area of 98,746 hectares; other great German landowners are:

Prince of Pless	owning	75	estates of	70,170	hectares
Prince Hohenzollern-Sigmar	"	24	" "	59,968	"
Duke of Ujest	"	52	" "	39,742	"
Prince Hohenlohe-Oehringen	"	—	———	39,365	"
Prince of Ratibor	"	51	" "	33,096	"

In 1895 the entailed estates in Prussia comprised an area of 2,121,636 hectares, or 6.09 per cent. of the entire area of the land. The 1045 entailed estates were owned by 939 proprietors, and their common property was by 206,600 hectares larger than the entire Kingdom of Wurtemberg, which covers an area of about 1,915,000 hectares. The large landowners are naturally interested in maintaining the present conditions. Not so the small proprietors, who would draw great advantages from a rational transformation of the conditions. It is an innate characteristic of large ownership of land that it seeks to enlarge its possessions more and more, and to take possession of all the farms within reach. It is so in Silesia, Lausitz, the Dukedom of Hessia and in ohter districts from which purchases of peasants' estates on a large scale are frequently reported.

In Austria the large estates predominate far more than in Germany, or particularly in Prusia. Here, besides the nobility and the bourgeoisie, the Catholic Church has succeeded in taking possession of a lion's share of the soil. The expropriation of peasants is in full swing in Austria also. In Styria, Tyrol, Salzburg. Upper and Lower Austria, etc., all means are applied to drive the peasants from their native soil and to turn their farms into gentlemen's estates. The same scenes that were at one time enacted in Scotland and Ireland may now be observed in the most picturesque parts of Austria. Individuals, as well as societies, purchase enormous tracts of land, or rent what they cannot purchase, and transform

them into hunting grounds. Trespassing on the valleys, hills and hamlets is prohibited by the new masters, and the stubborn proprietors of some estates, who refuse to comply with the demands of the gentlemen, are annoyed so long in various ways that they yield and sell their property. Soil that has been cultivated for ages, where for thousands of years many generations made a living, are transformed into a wilderness where deer may roam about, and the mountains that have been taken possession of by the capitalistic nobility or bourgeoisie are the hunting grounds of the chamois. Poverty spreads over entire communities because they are denied the right of driving their cattle on the Alpine pastures. And who are these persons who are robbing the peasant of his property and his independence? Besides Rothschild and Baron Meyer-Melnhof, the Counts of Coburg and Meiningen, Prince Hohenlohe, the Duke of Liechtenstein, the Count of Braganza, the Duchess Rosenberg, the Duke of Pless, the Counts Schoenfeld, Festetics, Schafgotsch, Trauttmannsdorff, the Baron Gustaedt Hunting Club, the Count Karoly Hunting Club, the Noblemen's Hunting Club of Bluehnbach, etc. Everywhere the great landowners are extending their property. In 1875 there were only 9 persons in Lower Austria who owned more than 5000 yokes each, with an area of 89,490 hectares; in 1895 there were 24 persons who owned an area of 213,574 hectares. Throughout Austria the great landowners control an area of 8,700,000 hectares, while 21,300,000 hectares belong to the small landowners. The proprietors of entailed estates, 297 families, own 1,200,000 hectares. Millions of small landowners cultivate 71 per cent. of the entire area, while a few thousand great landowners control more than 29 per cent. of the entire area of Austria. There are few land-revenue districts in which there are no great landed proprietors. In most of the districts there are two or several landowners who exert a determining political and social influence. Almost half of the great landowners hold property in several districts of the country, a number of them in several crownlands of the empire. In Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia there is no district without them. Only industry succeeded in dislodging them to some extent;

for instance. in Northern Bohemia and at the boundary of Bohemia and Moravia. In all other parts of the country the large estates are increasing: In Upper Austria, where, of all crown-lands, we still find a class of peasants that is fairly well off; in Goerz and Gradiaska, in Styria, Salzburg, in Galicia and Bukovina. They are increasing less rapidly in those countries that already are the domains of the great landowners—Bohemia,, Moravia, Silesia and Lower Austria. In Lower Austria, of the entire ground comprising 1,982,300 hectares, 393 great landowners owned 540,655 hectares, and the Church owned 79,181 hectares; 13 estates comprise 425,079 hectares= 9 per cent. of the entire area; among these, Duke Hoyos-Sprinzenstein owns 33,124 hectares. The area of Moravia covers 2,181,220 hectares. Of these the Church owned 81,857 hectares, and 116 estates of more than 1000 hectares each comprised a larger area than the 500,000 estates up to 10 hectares, that form 92.1 per cent. of all estates. The area of Austrian Silesia covers 514,677 hectares. Of these the Church owned 50,845 hectares, and 79 proprietors together owned 204,118 hectares. Bohemia, with an area of 5,194,500 hectares, has about 1,-237,085 great landowners. The distribution of property is characterized by an unusual number of estates of smallest dimensions, and by extensive large estates. Almost 43 per cent. of all the estates are smaller than ½ hectare, and more than four-fifths do not exceed 5 hectares. These 703,577 estates (81 per cent.) only cover 12.5 per cent. of the area of Bohemia. On the other hand, 776 persons own 35.6 per cent. of the entire area, while they only form 0.1 per cent. of all estates. The unequal distribution of property is more striking still when we analyze the larger class, those over 200 hectares. We then obtain the following result:

380	persons	own	each	200	to	500	hectares	. .	together	116,143	hectares
141	"	"	"	500	"	1000	"	. .	"	101,748	"
104	"	"	"	1000	"	2000	"	. .	"	150,567	"
151	"	"	"	over		2000	"	. .	"	1,436,084	"

Of the last-named group, 31 persons own 5,000 to 10,-000 hectares each; 21 persons own 10,000 to 20,000 hectares each, and the Princes Mor. Lobkowitz, Ferdinand

Kinsky, Karl Schwarzenberg, Alfred Windischgraatz, the Dukes Ernst Waldstein, Johann Harrach, Karl Buquoy own 20,000 to 30,000 hectares each. Clam-Gallas and Lar. Czernin own over 30,000 each. The Prince of Lichtenstein owns 36,189 hectares; Prince Max Egon Fuerstenberg, 39,162 hectares; Prince Colloredo Mannsfeld, 57,691 hectares, and the Prince of Schwarzenberg, 177,310 hectares=3.4 per cent. of the entire area of Bohemia. The Church owns 150,395 hectares=3 per cent. of the area of Bohemia.* These figures were compiled in 1896; since then matters have grown still worse. According to the agricultural census of 1902 there were 18,437 estates (0.7 per cent. of the entire number) that covered 9,929,920 hectares, or one-third of the entire area. In the district of Schwaz seven Alps and in the district of Zell sixteen Alps that had hitherto served as pastures to the cattle, were shut off by the new landlords and transformed into hunting grounds. Pasturing of cattle is prohibited along the entire Karwendel range. The leading nobility of Austria and Germany, besides rich bourgeois parvenus, purchased areas up to 70,000 yokes, and more, in the Alpine regions and had them fenced in as game preserves. Entire villages, hundreds of farms disappear, the inhabitants are driven from their native soil, and the place of human beings and of animals intended for human food, is taken by deer and stags and chamois. Not a few of these men who have devastated entire provinces in this manner, afterwards speak on the needy condition of the peasants in the parliaments, and abuse their power to employ the aid of the state in the form of taxes on grain, wood, live stock, meat, whiskey, etc., at the expense of the propertyless classes.

In the most advanced industrial states it is not the love of luxury of the privileged classes that dislodges the small estates, as is the case in Austria. Here the increasing demands of a rapidly growing population make it necessary to organize farming along capitalistic lines, in order to produce the required amount of food. This may be observed in a country so highly developed indus-

*The Propertied and Propertyless Classes in Austria.—T. W. Teifen. Vienna, 1906.

trially as Belgium. According to the "Annual Statistics," quoted by Emile Vandervelde in an article, "Landed Property in Belgium During the Period from 1834 to 1899," it says: "Only farms of less than 5 hectares, and especially those of less than 2 hectares, have diminished in number. But the farms of more than 10 hectares have increased to 3,789. The concentration of landed property that is in keeping with modern industry and cattle breeding on a large scale, may here be clearly observed. Since 1880 a development has set in that takes the opposite course of the one that took place from 1866 to 1880. While, in 1880, there still were 910,396 farms, only 829,625 remained in 1895; that means a decrease by 80,771 farms=9 per cent., in fifteen years. As a matter of fact, this decrease has affected only farms of less than 5 hectares. On the other hand, farms of from 5 to 10 hectares increased by 675; those of from 10 to 20 hectares by 2,168; from 20 to 30 hectares by 414; from 30 to 40 hectares by 164, from 40 to 50 hectares by 187, and those of over 50 hectares by 181."

3.—The Contrast Between City and Country.

The condition of the soil and its cultivation is of the greatest importance to the advancement of our civilization. The existence of the population primarily depends upon the soil and its products. The soil cannot be increased at will; the manner of its cultivation is therefore the more important. The population of Germany, which grows by about 870,000 persons annually, requires a considerable import of bread and meat, if the prices of the most necessary articles of food are still to be within reach of the masses. But here we are confronted by sharp-contrasting interests between the agricultural and industrial population. That part of the population that is not engaged in agricultural pursuits, is interested in obtaining articles of food at low prices, since their welfare, both as human beings and as individuals engaged in industry and commerce, depends upon it. Every increase in the cost of articles of food leads to a deterioration in the standard of living of a large portion of the population, unless the wages of the population depend-

ing upon agricultural products should be raised also. But an increase in wages usually implies an increase in the prices of industrial products, and that may result in a decline of sales. But if wages remain stationary, notwithstanding the increased cost of articles of food, the purchase of other commodities must be limited, and again industry and commerce suffer.

Matters have a different aspect for those engaged in agriculture. Just as persons engaged in industry, they seek to obtain the greatest possible advantage from their occupation, and it does not matter to them from which particular product they obtain it. If the import of foreign grain prevents their obtaining the desired profit from the cultivation of grain, they devote their soil to the cultivation of other products that are more profitable. They cultivate beets for the manufacture of sugar, and potatoes and grain for the manufacture of whiskey, instead of wheat and rye for bread. They devote the most fertile fields to the cultivation of tobacco, instead of to the cultivation of vegetables and fruit. Others use thousands of hectares of land for pastures for horses, because horses bring high prices for military purposes. Moreover, great stretches of forest land, which could be employed for agricultural purposes, are reserved as hunting-grounds for sportsmen of rank. This is sometimes the case in regions where a few thousand hectares of forests might be cut down and transformed into fields, without any harmful results ensuing, due to a decrease in humiditty by the cutting down of the forest. In this manner thousands of square miles of fertile soil might still be won for agricultural purposes in Germany. But this transformation is contrary to the material interests of a part of the bureaucracy, the forest- and game-keepers, as well as to the interests of the great landowners, who do not wish to give up their hunting-grounds and to deny themselves the pleasures of the chase. It is a matter of course that such clearing of forests could take place only where it would be truly advantageous. On the other hand, large areas of mountain and waste land might be planted with forests.

Recently the great influence of forests on the formation of moisture has been denied, as it appears, unjustly

so. To what marked degree the forest influences the moisture of the land, and thereby the fertility of the soil, is shown by some striking facts given in the book by Parvus and Dr. Lehmann, "Starving Russia." The authors assert, on the ground of their own observations, that the boundless and desultory devastation of forests in the most fertile provinces of Russia, was the chief cause of the failure of crops from which these at one time fertile regions suffered severely during the last few decades. Among many other facts, they pointed out that during the course of time five little rivers and six lakes disappeared in the government district of Stawropol; in the government district of Busuluk four rivers and four lakes disappeared; in the government district of Ssamara six small rivers, and in the government district of Buguruslaw two small rivers disappeared. In the government districts of Nikolajewsk and Novausensk four rivers are barely maintained by the construction of dams. Many villages that formerly had running water in their vicinity are robbed of this advantage, and in many places the depth of wells is 45 to 60 yards. As a result of this dearth of water the soil is hard and cracked. Wtih the cutting down of the forests the springs dried up and rain became scarce.

Capitalistic cultivation of the soil leads to capitalistic conditions. For a number of years a portion of our farmers derived enormous profits from the cultivation of beets and the manufacture of sugar connected with it. The system of taxation favored the exportation of sugar, and in such a manner that the revenue of the taxes on sugar-beets and on the consumption of sugar was to a considerable extent employed as bounties for exportation. The reimbursement granted to the sugar manufacturers per hundred-weight of sugar was considerably higher than the tax paid by them on the beets, and placed them in a position to sell their sugar at low prices to foreign countries, at the expense of the domestic taxpayers, and to develop the cultivation of sugar-beets more and more. The advantage gained by the sugar manufacturers under this system of taxation amounted to over 31 million marks annually. Hundreds of thousands of hectares of land that had formerly been de-

voted to the cultivation of grain, etc., were now employed to raise beets; countless factories were erected, and the inevitable result was the panic. The high profit obtained from the cultivation of beets also caused a rise in the price of property. This led to a wholesale purchase of the small farms, whose owners were tempted to sell by the high prices they could obtain for their property. The soil was made to serve industrial speculation, and the raising of grain and potatoes was relegated to soil of inferior quality, which heightened the demand for the importation of products of food. Finally the evils that had arisen from the allowance on export of sugar and had gradually assumed an international character, compelled the governments and the parliaments to abolish this system and thereby to revert to somewhat more natural conditions.

Under present-day conditions the small farmers cannot attain the social status to which they are entitled as citizens of a civilized state, no matter how hard they may work and how much they may deny themselves. Whatever the state and society may do to uphold these classes that form a considerable basis of the existing form of state and society, their endeavours remain patch-work. The agrarian taxes harm this portion of the agricultural population more than they benefit them. Most of these farmers do not produce as much as they need for the maintenance of their own families. They must purchase part of their supplies, the means for which they obtain by industrial or other additional labor. A great many of our small farmers are more interested in a favorable status of industry and commerce than in agriculture, because their own children make their living by industry or commerce, since the farm offers no employment and no income to them. One failure of crops increases the number of farmers who are obliged to purchase agricultural products. So how can agrarian taxes and prohibition of importation benefit those who have little to sell and must occasionally buy much? At least 80 per cent. of all agricultural establishments are in this position.

How the farmer cultivates his soil is his own affair in the era of private property. He cultivates whatever

seems most profitable to him, regardless of the interests and requirements of society; so "laissez faire!" In industry the same principle is applied. Obscene pictures and indecent books are manufactured, and factories are established for the adulteration of food. These and many other activities are harmful to society; they undermine its morals and heighten corruption. But they are profitable, more so than decent pictures, scientific books and unadulterated food. The manufacturer, eager for profits, must only succeed in escaping the notice of the police, and he may ply his trade in the knowledge that society will envy and respect him for the money he has made.

The mammon character of our age is most forcibly expressed by the stock exchange and its dealings. Products of the soil and industrial products, means of transportation, meterological and political conditions, want and abundance, disasters and suffering of the masses, public debts, inventions and discoveries, health or disease and death of influential persons, war and rumors of war often invented for this purpose, all these and many other things are made the object of speculation and are used to exploit and cheat one another. The kings of capital exert the most decisive influence on the weal and woe of society, and, favored by their powerful means and connections, they accumulate boundless wealth. Governments and officials become mere puppets in their hands, who must perform while the kings of the stock exchange pull the wires. The powers of the state do not control the stock market, the stock market controls the powers of the state.

All these facts, which are becoming more evident every day because the evils are daily increasing, call for speedy and thoroughgoing reforms. But society stands helpless before these evils and keeps going about in a circle like a horse in a treadmill, a picture of impotence and stupidity. They who would like to act, are still too weak; they who ought to act, still lack understanding; they who might act, do not wish to. They rely upon their power and think, as Madame Pompadour expressed it: "Après nous le deluge!" (May the deluge come after we are gone!) But what if the deluge should overtake them?

CHAPTER XX.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

1.—The Transformation of Society.

The tide rises and undermines the foundation of state and society. Every one feels that the pillars are swaying and that only powerful props can support them. But to erect such props means great sacrifices on the part of the ruling classes, and there the difficulty lies. Every proposition, the realization of which would seriously damage the material interests of the ruling classes and would threaten to question their privileged position, is bitterly opposed by them and roundly condemned as a measure destined to overturn the present order of state and society. But, without questioning and ultimately removing the privileges of the ruling classes, the diseased world cannot be cured.

"The struggle for the liberation of the working class is not a struggle for privileges, but one for equal rights and equal duties and for the removal of all privileges." This declaration of principles is contained in the Socialist platform. It follows that nothing can be attained by half measures and small concessions.

But the ruling classes regard their privileged position as natural and self-understood; they will admit of no doubt in its permanence and justification. So it is quite natural that they oppose and combat every attempt to shatter their privileges. Even proposed measures and laws that do not change their privileged position and the present order of society in the least, cause the greatest excitement among them, if their purse-strings are loosened thereby or likely to be loosened. In the parliaments mountains of paper are printed with speeches until the laboring mountains bring forth a ridiculous mouse. The most self-understood demands of workingmen's pro-

tection are met with as much opposition as if the existence of society depended upon it. When, after endless struggles, some concessions are won from the ruling classes, they act as if they had sacrificed a part of their fortune. They show the same stubborn opposition when called upon to recognize the oppressed classes on a basis of formal equality; for instance, to discuss questions of labor agreements with them as with their equals.

This opposition to the simplest things and the most self-understood demands confirms the old experience that no ruling class can ever be convinced by **reason,** unless the force of circumstances compels discretion and compliance. But the force of circumstances may be found in the growing measure of understanding created in the oppressed by the development of our conditions. The class extremes are constantly becoming more severe, more noticeable and more evident. The oppressed and exploited classes begin to recognize that existing conditions are untenable; their indignation increases, and with it the imperious demand to transform and humanize conditions. As this perception grows and reaches ever widening circles, it finally conquers the vast majority of society, which is most directly interested in this transformation. But to the same extent in which this perception of the untenableness of existing conditions and the need of their transformation grows among the masses, **the power of resistance of the ruling classes declines, since their power is founded upon the ignorance and the lack of understanding of the oppressed and exploited classes.** This reciprocal action is evident, and therefore everything that advances it must be welcomed. The progress of capitalism on the one hand is balanced on the other by the growing perception that the existing social order is adverse to the wellfare of the vast majority of the people. Although the solution and removal of social extremes will require great sacrifices and many exertions, a solution will be found as soon as the extremes have attained the height of their development, toward which they are rapidly advancing.

What measures are to be resorted to at the various stages of development, depends upon circumstances. It

ivity of social labor, until now a source of misery and oppression for the exploited classes, will then become a source of well-being and harmonious development for all.

2.—Expropriation of the Expropriators.

The transformation of all means of production into common property forms the new basis of society. The conditions of life and work for both sexes in industry, agriculture, traffic, education, marriage, science, art and social intercourse become radically different. Human life is given a new purpose. Gradually the organization of the state also loses ground; **the state disappears**; it, so to say, abolishes itself.

In the first part of this book we have shown why the state had to arise. It is the product of development from primitive society, founded on communism, that becomes dissolved as **private property** develops. With the rise of private property antagonistic interests are formed within society. Differences of class and caste arise that necessarily lead to class struggles among the different groups and threaten the maintenance of the new order. To keep down the opponents of the new order and to protect the threatened proprietors, an orgainzation is required that opposes such attacks and declares property to be "righteous" and "sacred." **This organization, which protects and maintains private property, becomes the state.** By laws the state secures the proprietor's right to his property, and upon those who would attack the order laid down by law it turns as judge and avenger. By their innermost nature, then, the interests of the ruling, possessing class, and of the powers of the state, always are conservative. The organization of the state only changes when the interest of property demands it. Thus the state is the **indispensable** organization of a society founded on class rule. As soon as class extremes have been removed by the abolition of private property, it becomes **unnecessary** and **impossible.** The state gradually ceases to exist with the passing away of class rule, as surely as religion ceases to exist when belief in superior beings and occult powers is no longer met with. Words

is impossible to predict what measures will be necessitated by circumstances in particular instances. No government, no prime-minister, be he the most powerful person, can predict what circumstances will compel him to do a year hence. It is all the more impossible to predict measures that will be dictated by circumstances unknown to us at present. The question of measures is a question of tactics to be observed in a struggle. The tactics are influenced by the opponent and also by the resources at the command of both parties. Means that are splendid to-day may be harmful to-morrow, because the circumstances that justified their employment may have changed. It is but necessary always to keep our aim before us; the means for attaining same depend upon time and circumstances. **But the most effective means that time and circumstances permit of should be resorted to.** In depicting future developments we must therefore resort to hypothetical methods; we must surmise certain conditions.

Proceeding from this point of view, we surmise that, at a given time, all the depicted evils will have developed to such extremes and will have become so evident and tangible to the great majority of the population, that they come to be regarded as unbearable; that a general, irresistible demand for a thoroughgoing transformation will manifest itself, and that, accordingly, the quickest help will be considered the most appropriate.

All social evils, without exception, spring from the present social order, which, as has been shown, is founded on capitalism, on the capitalistic method of production. This method of production enables the capitalist class—the owners of all the means of production, the ground, mines, raw materials, tools, machines, means of transportation—to exploit and oppress the masses, which leads to insecurity of existence and to the degradation of the exploited classes. Accordingly the most rapid and direct way would be to transform capitalistic property into common, or social property by a general expropriation. **The production of commodities will be socialized; it will become a production for and by society. Manufacture on a large scale and the increasing product-**

must have a purport; when they lose same they cease to convey a meaning.

Here a reader who is capitalistically minded may object and may ask on what legal ground can society justify these overthrowing changes? The legal ground will be the same that always was found, when similar changes and transformations were needful: **The common welfare.** Society, not the state, is the source of law. The state is only clerk to the society, whose duty it is to measure and dispense the law. Until now, ruling society was always but a small minority, but this small minority acted in behalf of the entire nation and represented itself as being society, just as Louis XIV. represented himself as being the state: "L'état cèst moi." (I am the state.) When our newspapers report: "The season has begun, society is returning to town;" or: "The season is over, society is hastening to the country," they do not mean the people, but the upper ten thousand who constitute society as they constitute the state. The masses are the "plebs," the vile multitude. In the same way, everything undertaken by the state for society in behalf of "the common welfare," has, first and foremost, served the interests of the ruling classes. **"Salus reipublica suprema lex esto"** (the welfare of the republic shall be the supreme law), is the well-known legal principle laid down by the ancient Romans. But who formed the Roman republic? The subjected peoples, the millions of slaves? No! The comparatively small number of Roman citizens, above all the Roman nobility, who permitted the slaves to support them.

When, during the middle ages, nobility and princes robbed the communal property, they did so on the legal ground of "the common welfare," and in what manner they disposed of the communal property and the property of the helpless peasants, the history of the middle ages, down to recent times, has amply shown. The agrarian history of the past thousand years is a history of uninterrupted robbery of communal and peasant property, practiced by the nobility and the Church in all civilized states of Europe. When the great French Revolution then proceeded to expropriate the property of the

nobility and the Church, it did so "in behalf of the common welfare," and the greater part of the eight million of property holders who form the chief stay of Bourgeois France, owe their existence to this expropriation. In behalf of the "common welfare,"Spain took possession of much Church property, and Italy confiscated it entirely, applauded by the most ardent defenders of "sacred property." The English nobility for centuries robbed the Irish and English nations of their property, and from 1804 to 1832 legally presented itself—"in behalf of the common welfare"—with no less than 3,511,710 acres of communal property. When, after the great North American civil war, millions of slaves were emancipated, who had been the lawfully acquired property of their masters, without reimbursing the latter, this was done "in behalf of the common welfare." Our entire bourgeois development is an uninterrupted process of expropriation and confiscation. In this process the mechanic is expropriated by the manufacturer, the peasant by the great landowner, the small dealer by the large merchant, and, finally, one capitalist by another. To judge by the declamations of our bourgeoisie, all this is being done to serve "the common welfare," in the "interest of society." On the 18 Brumaire and December 2, the followers of Napoleon "saved" "society" and "society" congratulated them. When society will save itself by taking back the property it has created, it will perform the most noteworthy deed. **For then its actions will not purpose to suppress one to the advantage of another, but to obtain equality of opportunity for all and to enable each and every one to lead an existence worthy of a human being.** It will be the grandest measure, morally, ever enacted by society.

In what forms this great process of social expropriation will be consummated and under what conditions, is of course quite impossible to predict.

In his fourth social letter to v. Kirchmann, entitled "Capital,"* Rodbertus says: "A confiscation of all private property in land, is not a chimera, but quite possible

*Berlin, 1884.

from the standpoint of political economy. It would also be the most radical help for society. For society suffers from the increase of rent in land and capital. With the abolition of private property in land, traffic and the progress of national wealth would not be interrupted for one moment." What do the Agrarians say to this opinion of one who was formerly a member of their party?

The further course of events, after such a measure has been resorted to, cannot be definitely laid down. No human being is able to foresee how coming generations will shape the details of their social organizations, and in what manner they will best succeed in satisfying their requirements. In society, as in nature, there is constant change. One thing appears while another disappears; what is old and wasted is replaced by what is new and full of vitality. Inventions and discoveries along varied lines are made whose significance cannot be foreseen, and when applied, such inventions and discoveries may revolutionize human life and the entire social organization.

In the following, therefore, we can only discuss the development of general principles. They may be laid down as a logical outcome of the prior explanations, and to some extent it is possible to overlook in what manner they will be carried out. Even heretofore society could not be guided and directed by single individuals, although it sometimes appeared so. But appearances are deceiving; presuming to direct, we are being directed. Even heretofore society has been an organism that developed in accordance with definite, inherent laws. In the future the guidance and direction, according to the will of individuals, will be entirely out of the question. Society will then be a democracy that will have unravelled the secrets of its nature. It will have discovered the laws of its development and will consciously apply them to its further growth.

CHAPTER XXI.

Fundamental Laws of Socialistic Society.

1.—Duty to Work of All Able-bodied Persons.

As soon as society has become the owner of all means of production, the duty to work of all able-bodied persons, regardless of sex, becomes a fundamental law of socialized society. Society cannot exist without labor. It therefore is justified in demanding that all who seek to satisfy their requirements, should also serve to the best of their physical and mental abilities in producing the commodities that are needful to satisfy the requirements of all. The silly assertion that the Socialists wish to abolish work is an absurdity. Lazy persons, shirkers of work, are met with in bourgeois society **only.** Socialism is agreed with the Bible in asserting that "he who will not work neither shall he eat." But work shall be useful, productive activity. The new society will therefore insist that everyone choose some definite industrial, agricultural, or other useful activity, whereby he performs a certain amount of labor for the satisfaction of existing requirements. **No enjoyment without labor, without labor no enjoyment.**

Since all are obliged to work, all have the same interest in having three conditions of labor complied with. Firstly, that the work-day shall not be too long and that the work shall not require over-exertion; secondly, that the work shall be varied and as agreeable as possible; thirdly, that it shall be as productive as possible, since on this the length of the work-day and the number of obtainable enjoyments depend. But these three conditions again are determined by the number and the nature of the means of production and the workers; they are furthermore determined by the required standard of living. Socialistic society does not establish itself in order to lead a proletarian existence, **but to abolish the proletarian manner of living of the great majority of people.** It seeks to grant to everyone the fullest measure of the comforts and joys of life, and so the question arises: To what extent will the requirements of society grow?

In order to determine this an administration will be necessary that comprises all fields of social activity. Here our municipalities will form an appropriate foundation. If they are too large to permit of obtaining an insight, they may be divided into districts. As in primitive society, all members of the communities who are of age, **regardless of sex,** will participate in the elections and choose the persons who are to take charge of the administration. At the head of all local bodies there will be a central administration. This—let it be noted—will not be a government with ruling powers, but an executive board of managers. Whether this board of managers is to be elected by the entire population or by the local boards is not essential. These questions will not be as important then as they are now, for election to these offices will not mean greater power and influence and a higher income. They will be positions of trust to which the fittest, **be they men or women,** will be elected, and they can be recalled or re-elected, as conditions may demand, or as it may seem desirable to the voters. All offices are temporary. The persons who hold these positions, therefore, cannot be regarded as officials. Their function is not a permanent one, nor is a hierarchical order of advancement provided for. Viewed from this standpoint, it also becomes a matter of indifference whether there will be any intermediate bodies between the central administration and the local administrations, as provincial administrations, etc. If considered necessary they will be instituted; if not, they will be omitted. All that will be determined by experience. If progress in the development of society should make old institutions superfluous, they will be abolished without any ado and without any conflict, since no one is personally interested in their maintenance, and new ones will be instituted instead. **This thoroughly democratic administration is very different from the present.** At the present time—what battles in the newspapers, what a warfare of tongues in the parliaments, what piles of documents in the government offices, to accomplish an insignificant change in the administration or government!

To begin with, the main task will be to determine the existing forces, the number and kind of means of produc-

tion, factories, workshops, means of transportation, area of land, and the previous productivity. Further it will be necessary to determine the supply on hand and the number of articles and products required to supply the demand in a given length of time. As at present the state and the various municipalities annually determine their budgets, this will in future be done for the entire social demand, and changes made necessary by new or increased demands can be fully taken into consideration. Statistics here become the main factor. They are the most important auxiliary science in the new society, since they furnish the standard whereby all social activity may be measured. Statistics are being used for similar purposes at present on a large scale. The budgets of nation, state, and municipality are founded on a great number of statistical investigations that are annually undertaken by the various branches of administration. Experience of long duration and a certain stability in current demands simplify them. Under normal conditions every manufacturer and every merchant is also enabled to determine his requirements for the coming quarter of a year and in what manner he must arrange his production and his purchases. Unless excessive changes occur he can meet them readily and without much difficulty.

The experience that the crises are brought on by blind, anarchistic production; that is to say, because goods are produced without any knowledge of the stock on hand, the sales, and the demand for the various articles on the world market, has caused the captains of industry in various branches—as already stated—to form trusts. The object of these trusts is to determine prices on the one hand, and on the other to regulate production. By the producing ability of each individual concern and by the sales it is likely to make, the amount of goods to be produced for the coming months is determined. Failure to comply with these rules is punished by a fine and by proscription. The manufacturers form these agreements not to benefit, but to harm the public, and solely for their own advantage. Their purpose is to use the power of cooperation to insure the greatest advantage for themselves. By regulating production it becomes possible to exact the payment of prices that can never be obtained as

long as the individual manufacturers compete with one another. So the manufacturer enriches himself at the expense of the consumer, who must pay the fixed price for the article that he needs; and, as the consumer is injured by the trusts, so also the worker. Regulation of production by the manufacturers releases a number of workers and employes, and these, in order to live, must underbid their fellow-workers. Moreover, the social power of the trust is so great that the labor unions, too can rarely cope with them. The employers, accordingly, enjoy a double advantage; they receive higher prices and pay lower wages. This regulation of production by associations of employers **is the opposite of that which will take effect in Socialistic society.** To-day the interest of the employers is the determining factor; in the future it will be the interest of the general public. But in bourgeois society even the best organized trust cannot overlook and compute all the factors. Competition and speculation on the world market continue to rage, in spite of the trust, and suddenly it becomes manifest that the calculation is faulty, and the artificial structure breaks down.

Like industry, commerce also posseses far-reaching statistics. Every week the large centers of commerce and seaport towns publish lists of the supplies on hand of kerosene, cotton, sugar, coffee, wheat, etc. Sometimes these statistics are not exact, because the owners of the goods occasionally have a personal interest in preventing the truth from becoming known. But, taken all in all, these statistics are pretty reliable and enable those interested to judge the probable aspect of the market in the near future. But here, too, speculation enters into consideration that frequently deceives and upsets all calculations and often makes it impossible to carry on an honest business. Just as a general regulation of production is made impossible in bourgeois society by the conflicting interests of the countless private producers, so the regulation of distribution is made impossible by the speculative nature of commerce and by the conflicting interests of the great number of persons engaged in it. But what has been accomplished so far gives an idea of what can be accomplished as soon as private interests disappear and the common interest predominates. An example of this is,

for instance, the harvest statistics compiled annually by various states, that make it possible to calculate the crops, the amount needful to supply the domestic demand, and the probable prices.

But in a socialized society conditions will be perfectly orderly, since the solidarity of society will have been established. Everything is carried out, according to plans, in an orderly way, and so it will be easy to determine the amounts required by the various demands. When some experience has been gained, everything will run smoothly. When the average demand for meat, bread, shoes, garments, etc., has been statistictlly determined, and when the output of the respective establishments of production is known, **the average daily amount of socially necessary labor can be established. It, furthermore, can be determined whether more establishments of production are needed, or whether some can be dispensed with as superfluous and can be fitted out for other purposes.**

Every individual chooses the branch of industry in which he wishes to be employed. The great number of very different realms of activity makes it possible to take the most varied wishes into consideration. If there is an excess of workers in one branch and a lack of workers in another, it will be the duty of the administration to make the necessary arrangements and to bring about an equalization. To organize production and to give opportunity to the various forces to be employed at the right place, will be the chief task of the elected administrations. As all perfect themselves in their particular tasks the wheels run more smoothly. The different branches of industry and sub-divisions elect their managers, who must control the work. But these are no slave-drivers, as overseers and foremen are to-day, but fellow-workers who simply practice the administrative function entrusted to them, in place of a productive one. It is not impossible that at a more advanced stage of organization and with a more perfect education of all its members, these functions will become alternating and will, in definite rotation, be overtaken by all persons concerned, **regardless of sex.**

2.—Harmony of Interests.

Labor, organized on a basis of complete freedom and democratic equality, with one for all and all for one, will call forth a rivalry and a desire to create that are nowhere met with under the present industrial system; and this joy of creation will enhance the productivity of labor.

Since all work for one another, they are interested in having all objects well made and with as little waste of time and strength as possible, be it to save labor, or to gain time for the manufacture of new products destined to satisfy higher demands. **This common interest will cause all to seek to improve, simplify and hasten the process of work. The ambition to discover and invent will be stimulated to the highest degree, and people will endeavours to outdo each other in new ideas and suggestions.*** So the opposite of what is claimed by the opponents of Socialism will be true. How many discoverers and inventors perish in bourgeois society! How many are exploited and cast aside! If intelligence and talent were to hold the foremost place in bourgeois society, instead of property, **the greater part of the employers would have to make way for their workingmen, foremen, mechanics, engineers, chemists, etc.** These are the men who, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, have made the discoveries, inventions, and improvements that are applied by the man with the full purse. How many

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*"The force of rivalry that leads to supreme efforts to win the praise and admiration of others, has been shown by experience to be a useful one wherever persons compete with one another, even in regard to frivolous matters and such matters from which the public derives no benefit. But a rivalry as to who can best serve the common welfare, is a sort of competition that Socialists do not repudiate."—John Stuart Mill, "Political Economy." Every society, every organization of persons having the same aims and a common cause, also furnishes many examples of a nobler endeavor that leads to no material success but to a purely ideal one. The persons vieing with each other are indeed impelled by the ambition of serving the common cause and of winning recognition. But this sort of ambition is a virtue since it serves the common good and at the same time gives satisfaction to the individual. Ambition is harmful only when it is satisfied at the expense of others or to the detriment of society.

thousands of discoverers and inventors have failed because they could not find a man who would furnish the money to carry out their discoveries and inventions, and how many meritorious discoverers and inventors are crushed by the social misery of daily life, is quite beyond our calculation. Not the persons endowed with a quick intelligence and a clear brain are masters of the world, but those endowed with ample means, which does not imply that a clear brain and a full purse cannot belong to the same person.

Everyone engaged in practical life knows with how much suspicion the workingmen regard every improvement, every new invention that is introduced to-day; and their suspicion is entirely justified. For, as a rule, not the workers but the employers are the only ones to derive any advantage from it. The worker must fear that the new machine, or the improvement, will make him superfluous and turn him out into the street. Instead of joyfully acclaiming a new invention that is a credit to humanity and ought to be a boon to him, he curses it. Many an improvement in the process of production invented by workingmen has never been introduced. The inventor keeps his invention to himself, because he fears that it will harm him, instead of benefiting him. Such are the natural results of conflicting interests.*

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*v. Thuenen—"The Isolated State," says: "The conflicting interests are the reason why proletarians and possessors are hostile to one another and will remain unreconciled as long as the discord in their interests has not been removed. Not only by the wealth of the employer, but also by invention in manufactory, by the building of roads and railways, and by the opening of new markets, the national income may be greatly increased. But in our present social order the workingman derives no benefit from this increase. His status remains the same, and *the entire increase in income falls to the share of the employers, capitalists and landlords.*". This last sentence is an almost verbal anticipation of a declaration by Gladstone in the English parliament, in 1884. He said: "This intoxicating growth of wealth and power (experienced by England during the last twenty years) has been limited exclusively to the possessing classes;" and v. Thuenen says: *"in the separation of the worker from his product the evil lies."*—Morelly says in his "Principles of Legislation": "Property divides us into two classes, the rich and the poor. The

In Socialistic society the conflict of interests will be removed. Everyone will develop his abilities to serve himself and will thereby serve society. At present, satisfaction of personal egotism and service of society usually are extremes that exclude each other. In the new society these extremes will not exist. **Satisfaction of personal egotism and service of society will be harmonious; they will coincide.***

The splendid influence of such a status of morals is obvious. The productivity of labor will rapidly increase. Especially will the productivity of labor grow, because the dissemination of forces among hundreds of thousands of tiny manufacturers with imperfect tools and insufficient means, will cease. It has been previously shown among how many small, medium-sized and large manufactories German industry is disseminated. By gathering in all the small and medium-sized manufactories into manufacture on a large scale in great establishments that will be furnished with all the most modern technical improvements, a tremendous waste of effort, time, material of all kinds (light, heat, etc.), and space will be removed, and the productivity of labor will be heightened. The difference that exists between the productivity of small, medium-sized and large manufactories, may be illustrated by an example from the industrial census of Massachusetts of 1890. There the factories in ten chief branches of industry are divided into three classes. Those that produced less than 40,000 dollars' worth were placed in the lower class; those that

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former love their property and do not care to defend the state. The latter can not love their fatherland for it gives them nothing but misery. But under Communism every one loves his fatherland for by it everyone obtains life and happiness."

*In weighing the advantages and disadvantages of Communism, John Stuart Mill says in his "Political Economy": "No field can be more favorable to this conception (that public interest and private interest are identical) than a communistic association. All the ambition as well as the physical and mental activity, that is at present directed upon the pursuit of sporadic and selfish interests, would demand a different sphere of activity, and would find it in the service of the common good of society."

produced between 40,000 and 150,000 dollars' worth in the middle class, and those that produced over 150,000 dollars' worth, in the upper class. This division presented the following figures:

	Number of Establishments	Percentage of all Establishments	Value of Production	Percentage of entire Value of Production
Lower class	2,042	55.2	51,660,617	9.4
Middle class . . .	968	26.2	106,868,635	19.5
Upper class	686	18.6	390,817,300	71.1
	3,696	100.—	549,346,552	100.—

Twice the number of small factories, compared to the large and medium-sized ones, turned out only 9.4 per cent. of the entire production, while the large factories, which formed only 23 per cent. of the total number, produced almost 2½ times the quantity of all the others. But even the large establishments could be organized much more rationally still, so that the total production might yield a still far greater quantity.

How much time can be gained by placing production on a rational basis? That has been shown by interesting calculations made by Th. Hertzka, in his book on "The Laws of Social Evolution," published in 1886. He calculated how much time and labor power would be needful to satisfy the demands of the population of Austria, which was 22 millions strong at the time. For this purpose, Hertzka investigated the productivity of the large establishments in the various lines of industry and based his calculations on the results. This calculation includes the farming of 10½ million hectares of cultivated soil and 3 million hectares of pasturage, which should suffice to supply said population with meat and the products of agriculture. Furthermore, Hertzka included in his calculation the building of homes, in such a manner that every family might have their own house, with a space of 150 square meters, for a period of fifty years. It was found that, for agriculture, building, the production of flour and sugar, coal-mining, iron and machine industry, the clothing industry, and the chemical industry, 615,000

workers would be needed, who would have to work throughout the year for the present average number of hours daily. But these 615,000 workers formed only **12.3 per cent. of the able-bodied population of Austria, not counting the women, nor the male inhabitants under 16 or over 50.** If the 5 million men available at the time of the calculation were employed like the 615,000, each of them would have to work only 36.9 days, about six weeks annually, to supply the most needful requirements for 22 million human beings. But, if we assume 300 work-days annually, instead of 37, we find that, under the new organization it would be necessary to work only **1⅜ hours daily to supply the most necessary requirements.**

Hertza also takes the requirements of luxury of the better situated classes into consideration and finds that the manufacture of such articles, to supply the demands of 22 million people, would require 315,000 more workers. According to Hertzka, then, about 1 million workers, 20 per cent. of the able-bodied male population of Austria, excluding those under 16 and over 50, would be needed **to supply the entire needs of the population** in sixty days. If we again take the entire able-bodied male population into consideration, we find that they would have to perform only about **2½ hours of work daily.***

This calculation will not surprise anyone who is well acquainted with existing conditions. If we furthermore assume that, with such a short work-day, only the sick and the invalids must be excluded, while men over 50 might still work, and youths under 16 might be active to some extent, and that the women might also serve in industry, except those who are engaged in child-rearing, the preparation of food, etc., we find that the hours of work might be shortened still more, or that the demands

*In his "False Doctrines," Eugen Richter ridicules the enormous shortening of the hours of work predicted by us that would result if all were obliged to work and if the process of production were organized in accordance with the highest technical development. He tries to belittle the productivity of large manufacture and to enlarge the importance of small manufacture, in order to assert that it would not be possible to produce the required amount. To make Socialism seem impossible the upholders of the present "order" must try to discredit the advantages of their own social system.

might be greatly increased. Nor will any one deny that tremendous, incalculable progress may still be made in perfecting the process of production, a factor that will create further advantages. On the other hand, many requirements will be satisfied that only a small minority can satisfy to-day, and, with the higher development of civilization, new requirements will arise that will also have to be satisfied. It must be iterated and reiterated: **The new society will not elect to lead a proletarian existence. It will demand the existence of a highly civilized people for all its members from the first to the last. But it shall not only satisfy all the material requirements, it shall also grant to all ample opportunity and time for the study of science and art, and for recreation.**

3.—Organization of Labor.

In a number of other very essential points the socialistic co-operative system will differ from the bourgeois individualistic system. The cheap and poor goods that make up a large portion of bourgeois production, and necessarily must make up a large portion of it, because a majority of the customers can afford to purchase only cheap goods that wear out quickly, will be eliminated. Only the best will be produced that will last long and will not have to be renewed as often. The fads and follies of fashion that only favor extravagance and bad taste will disappear. Doubtless our wearing apparel will be better suited to its purpose and more tasty than to-day—for the fashions of the last century, especially those of the men, have been conspicuous by their bad taste—but new fashions will no longer be introduced every few months. The present follies of fashion are caused, on the one hand, by the competition of women among themselves, and on the other by conceit and ostentation and the desire to display one's wealth. Moreover, a great many persons depend upon these follies of fashion to-day, and it is to their interest to encourage and stimulate them. Together with the follies of fashion in dress, the madness of fashion in the style of dwellings will disappear. Here eccentricity is rampant to-day. Styles that have required centuries to become evolved among

various nations—we are no longer satisfied with European styles, but turn to those of the Japanese, Indians, Chinese, etc.—are used up in a few years and set aside. Persons engaged in mechanical arts hardly know what to do with all the designs and models. They have barely adapted themselves to one style, trusting to recover their expenses, when a new style appears that necessitates further sacrifices of time and money and of physical and mental forces. In this mad rushing from one fashion to another and from one style to another the nervousness of our age is vividly reflected. No one would claim that there is any sense or reason in this rush and haste, or that it might be regarded as a healthful state of society.

Socialism will give greater stability to the habits of life. It will make rest and enjoyment possible and will liberate us from the present haste and excitement. Nervousness, the scourge of our age, will disappear.

Work will be made as agreeable as possible. To accomplish this, the places where production is carried on will be furnished practically and tastily, every means will be resorted to that danger may be eliminated, and that evil smells, smoke, etc., and all unpleasant and harmful factors will be done away with. At first the new society will produce with the means of production taken over from the old society. But these are insufficient. The workshops are scattered and are not properly constructed or furnished, and tools and machinery do not come up to the demands of the great number of persons employed and their desire for safety and comfort. To create a great many large, light, airy, well-equipped workshops becomes an imminent necessity. The arts and crafts, genius and skill, are immediately given a vast realm of activity. All branches of machine manufacture and the manufacture of tools, the building trades and the trades of interior decoration find ample opportunity for occupation. Whatever the human mind is able to invent in the way of convenient and agreeable buildings, appropriate ventilation, lighting and heating, and technical and mechanical improvements, will be instituted. To save motor-power, light and heat, as well as time and labor, and to insure the comfort of the workers, it will become desirable to concentrate the work-

shops in definite places. The dwellings will be separated from the workshops and freed from the unpleasantness of industrial activity; and the unpleasantness will be diminished and finally abolished by all sorts of institutions nad appliances. Even the present status of technical knowledge gives us sufficient means to deprive the dangerous occupations, like mining, the chemical trades, etc., of their dangers **entirely.** But these means are not applied in bourgeois society, because they entail a heavy expense and because no one is duty bound to do more for the protection of the workingman than is absolutely necessary. The dangers of mining, for instance, could be removed by working the mine in a different manner, by a thorough system of ventilation, by the installation of electric light, by a considerable shortening of the hours of work, and by a frequent change of shifts. It does not require special ingenuity to find safety appliances that will make accidents in the building trade next to impossible and to make this sort of work particularly agreeable. For instance, ample contrivances might be made to shield the workers at large buildings and at all out-of-door work from the sun and the rain. In socialistic society, which will control an abundance of labor power, it will also be a simple matter to have frequent relays of new workers and to concentrate certain tasks upon definite seasons or definite hours of the day.

The problem of abolishing dust, smoke, grime and unpleasant odors, can also be solved entirely even to-day by chemistry and mechanics. But it is not done, or insufficiently done, because the private employers do not care to meet the heavy expense. The future places of production, wherever they may be, below the earth or above, will differ most favorably from the present ones. In private industry improved appliances are mainly a question of money. If they pay they will be established. If they do not pay, the health and life of the workingman are of no concern.*

*"Capital," says the "Quarterly Reviewer," "flees tumult and quarrel and is of a timid nature. That is true, but it is not the whole truth. Capital abhors the absence of profits or very small profits as nature abhors empty space. With appropriate profits, capital be-

In socialistic society the question of profits will have ceased to exist. This society will recognize no other consideration **but the welfare of its members.** What is to their advantage must be established. What is likely to harm them must be refrained from. No one will be compelled to enter into dangerous undertakings. If tasks are undertaken that entail dangers one may be assured that there will be many volunteers, all the more so because the undertakings will not serve destruction but the advancement of civilization.

4.—The Growth of the Productivity of Labor.

A far-reaching appliance of motor-power, and of the most perfect machines and tools, a detailed division of labor and a skillful combination of the various forces, will so heighten the productivity of labor that the necessary quantities of all commodities can be produced, notwithstanding **a considerable shortening of the hours of work.** Increased production will be to the common advantage of all. **The share of each individual increases with the productivity of labor, and the increased productivity of labor again makes it possible to reduce the time required for the performance of socially necessary labor.**

Among the motor powers that will be applied, electricity will most likely hold the foremost place. Bourgeois society everywhere presses it into service, and the more this is done the better it is for general progress. The revolutionizing effect of the most powerful of all natural forces will only **hasten** the overthrow of the bourgeois world and help to usher in Socialism. But only in socialistic society will the force be generally applied and turned to the best advantage. Both as a motor-power and as a source of light and heat it will contribute

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comes bold. If ten percent. are insured, it can be applied everywhere; 20 percent., and it becomes aggressive; 50 percent., positively reckless; for 100 percent. it tramples all human laws under foot; 300 percent., and there is no crime it will not risk even at the peril of the gallows. If tumult and quarrel bring profit, it will encourage both." Karl Marx—Capital.

largely to the improved standard of living of society. Electricity is distinguished from every other force by the fact that it exists in nature in abundance. Our streams, high and low tide of the sea, wind and sunlight will furnish countless horse-powers when we shall thoroughly understand how to apply them.

"A wealth of energy that by far exceeds all demands is furnished by those parts of the surface of the earth that are so regularly subjected to the heat of the sun that it might be applied to regular technical operations. Perhaps it would not be an exaggerated precaution if a nation would even now secure a share in such places. The required areas need not even be very large; a few square miles in Northern Africa would suffice for the requirements of a country like the German Empire. By concentrating the heat of the sun a high temperature can be produced, and thereby everything else—portable mechanical work, charging of batteries, light and heat, and, by electrolysis, even fuel."* The man who opens up these vistas is not a dreamer, but an appointed professor at the Berlin University and president of the Royal Physical and Technical Institute, a man who ranks high in the scientific world. At the 79th congress of the British Association in Winnipeg (during August, 1909), the famous English physicist, Sir S. Thompson, said: "The day is not too far distant when our life will be revolutionized by applying the rays of the sun. Man will liberate himself from his dependence upon coal-and-water power, and all large cities will be surrounded by immense apparatus, real sunbeam traps, into which the heat of the sun will be gathered, and the obtained energy will be stored away in tremendous reservoirs. It is the force of the sun, stored away in coal, in waterfalls, in nourishment, that performs all the world's work. How great is this tribute of force that the sun pours down upon us becomes evident when we consider the fact that the warmth received by the earth when the sun is high and the sky is clear, according to the researches of Langley, equals an energy of 7000 horse-powers per acre. Although our engineers

*"The Energy of Labor and Appliance of the Electric Current" by Fr. Kohlrausch. Leipsic, 1900.

have not yet found the way to apply this gigantic source of power, I do not doubt that they will ultimately succeed in finding it. When the supply of coal in the bowels of the earth has been exhausted, when the water-powers will no longer suffice to meet our requirements, then we will obtain from this source all the energy needed to complete the work of the world. Then the centers of industry will be removed to the glowing deserts of Sahara, and the value of the land will be measured by how well it is suited to the erection of the great 'sunbeam traps.' "* According to this, our anxiety that we might at some time lack fuel, is removed. The inventions of the accumulators would make it possible to store a large quantity of force away for future use at any time and place; so that, besides the power furnished by sun and tide, the power furnished by the wind and by mountain torrents, which can be obtained only periodically, might be stored and applied. So there may finally be no human task for which motor power cannot be supplied if necessary. Only by the assistance of electricity has it become possible to employ water-power on a large scale. According to T. Koehn, eight European states have the following supply of water-power at their disposal.

	Horse-powers	Per 1000 inhabitants
Great Britain	963,000	23.1
Germany	1,425,900	24.5
Switzerland	1,500,000	138
Italy	5,500,000	150
France	5,857,000	169
Austria and Hungary	6,460,000	454.5
Sweden	6,750,000	1290
Norway	7,500,000	3409

Of the German states, Baden and Bavaria control the largest amount of water-power. Baden alone can obtain

*As early as 1864, Augustin Mouchot made an attempt to make the heat of the sun serve industrial purposes directly and constructed a sun-machine that was improved by Pifré. The largest sun-machine (heliomotor) is in California and serves as an apparatus for pumping. The water in the well is pumped up at the rate of 11,000 litres a minute.

200,000 horse-powers at the Upper Rhine. Bavaria has at its disposal 300,000 horse-powers that have so far not been applied, besides 100,000 that are applied. Professor Rehbock estimates that the theoretical energy of the entire amount of water flowing upon the surface of the earth amounts to eight thousand million horse-powers. If only the sixteenth part of this could be efficiently applied, 500 millions of permanently serviceable horse-powers could still be won, an amount of energy ten times as great as the energy obtained by the mining of coal during the year 1907, approximately calculated at 1000 million tons. Although such calculations are of a purely theoretical character at present, they still show what achievements we may anticipate in the future from the use of "white coal." The Niagara Falls alone, which flow from lakes covering an area of 231,880 kilometers—about 43 per cent. of the entire area of Germany—might furnish more water-power than exists in England, Germany and Switzerland combined.** According to another calculation quoted in an official report, the United States have water-power at their disposal of no less than twenty million horse-powers, which represent an equivalent of three hundred million tons of coal annually.* The mills that will be driven by means of this white or "green" coal, with the force of the gushing mountain streams and waterfalls, will have no smokestacks and no fire.

Electricity will also make it possible to more than double the speed of our railroads. At the beginning of the nineties of the last century, Mr. Meems, in Baltimore, declared it to be possible to construct an electric car that would make 300 kilometers an hour, and Professor Elihu Thomson, in Lynn, believed that electric motors could be constructed that would make it possible to cover 260 kilometers in an hour. These expectations have nearly been realized. The trial-rides made on the military railway Berlin-Zossen, during 1901 and 1902, showed the possibility of speed up to 150 kilometers an hour. During experiments made in 1903, the Siemens car attained a

*T. Koehn—Some Large European Water-Power Plants and Their Economic Significance.

**Supply and Distribution of Cotton. Washington, 1908.

speed of 201 kilometers, and that of the General Electric Company, 208 kilometers. In the succeeding years steam locomotives have also attained a speed of 150 kilometers an hour, and more. The present aim is to attain 200 kilometers per hour. Already, August Sherl has entered the arena with his new project of rapid transit, which relegates the existing railway lines to freight service and proposes to connect the large cities by monorail train service, with a speed of 200 kilometers.*

The question of transforming railroad service from steam into electricity is a current topic in England, Austria, Italy, and America. Between New York and Philadelphia an electric train is to run at a speed of 200 kilometers an hour.

The speed of ocean vessels will increase in the same manner. Here the determining factor is the steam turbine.** "It holds the foremost place in technical interest at present. It seems destined to displace the piston. While most engineers still regarded the steam turbine as a task of the future, it had become a present-day problem that attracted the attention of the entire world of technics by its success. It remained for electrotechnics, with its rapidly running machinery to create a large field for the practical application of this new power engine. The by far greatest number of all steam-turbines in use today serves to drive dynamos.† The turbine has especially proved its superiority over the piston in navigation. The English steamship "Lusitania," which is equipped with steam-turbines, during August, 1909, made the journey from Ireland to New York in 4 days 11 hours and 42 minutes,†† with an average speed of 25.85 knots an

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*In 1908, the Prussian department of public works decided to transform the steam-railways Leipsic-Bitterfeld, Magdeburg and Leipsic, Halle into electric railways.

**While the old steam-engine turns the driving-wheels in a roundabout way (by the transmission of the motion of the piston rods), the steam-turbine produces a direct rotary motion, like the wind turns the wind-mill.

†C. Matchoss—The Evolution of the Steam-Engine.

††During September, 1910, the Mauretania broke this record by hour and one minute. —Tr.

hour. The steamship "America," constructed in 1863, the fastest vessel at the time, made 12.5 knots an hour.* The day is not distant when the problem of electric propellers for large vessels will be satisfactorily solved. They are already in use with smaller vessels. Simplicity, safety, good self-regulation, and absence of shaking make the steam-turbine the ideal power for the creation of electric energy on board. Electricity will eventually be generally applied to both railway and steamship service.

By electricity the technics of moving loads has also been revolutionized. "Steam-power, having made it possible to construct lifting-engines with natural force, electric transmission of power led to a complete revolution in the construction of lifting-machines by giving these machines freedom of motion and constant readiness for use." Electric power has, among other things, led to a complete transformation in the construction of the cranes. "With its massive curved beak of rolled iron, resting upon a heavy foundation of stone-masonry, with slow motions and the hissing noise of the puffed-out steam, the steam-crane conveys the impression of resembling a gigantic, prehistoric monster. When it has grasped a load it exhibits a tremendous power for lifting, but it needs the assistance of human beings, who, by means of chains, fasten the weights to its hook. Owing to its clumsiness and slow motions it is serviceable only for the lifting of very heavy loads, but not where quick action is needed. Even externally the modern electric crane presents an entirely different aspect. We behold graceful steel trellis-work stretched above the hall, and from this is stretched out a slender pair of tongs, which is movable in all directions. The whole mechanism is controlled by a single man. By means of a gentle pressure on the levers, he directs the electric currents and drives the slender steel limbs of the crane to rapid action.

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*During the fifties of the last century, the sailing vessels took about six weeks to reach New York. The steamers crossed in two weeks. During the nineties, the voyage was made in a week, and now it is made in 5½ days. As a result of this progress, the two continents are brought nearer to each other now than Berlin and Vienna were a century ago.

Unaided, they grasp the glowing steel and whirl it through the air, while no other noise is heard but the low buzzing of the electro-motors."* Without the aid of these machines the steadily increasing transportation of masses of goods would not be possible. By a comparison of the wharf-crane at Pola and that at Kiel, the development, in regard to the increase of lifting-power from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century, may be judged. The lifting-power of the former was 60 tons, that of the latter, 200 tons. The manufacture of Bessemer steel only is possible when rapidly working lifting-machines are at hand, for otherwise the tremendous quantities of liquid steel that are produced in a short time could not be transported in the casting-moulds. In the iron-works of Krupp, in Essen alone, 608 cranes are in action, having an aggregate lifting-power of 6513 tons, equal to a freight train of 650 cars. The low cost of freight, which is a condition of present-day international commerce, would not be possible, could not the capital invested in vessels be put to such intense use by the rapid process of unloading. The equipping of a vessel with electric cranes led to a reduction in the annual cost of traffic from 23,000 to 13,000 marks, almost by one-half. And this comparison takes into consideration only the progress of a single decade.

The technics of navigation and transportation present new achievements almost daily along all lines. The problem of aerial navigation, which seemed insoluble but two decades ago, is practically solved. At present the dirigible balloons and flying machines do not serve the easier and cheaper transportation of the masses, but only sport and military purposes. But later on they will enhance the productive forces of society. Great progress has also been made by wireless telegraphy; its industrial value grows each day. In a few years, accordingly, traffic will be placed on a new basis.

Mining, too, is in a state of transformation at present that still seemed inconceivable ten years ago. Electricity

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*O. Kammerer—The Technics of Moving Loads, Formerly and at the Present Time. Berlin, 1907.

has been introduced and has revolutionized the machines, the pumps, and the winding-engines.

Marvelous are the prospects revealed by the former French minister of public instruction, Professor Berthelot (died March 18, 1907), in an address on the future significance of chemistry, delivered at a banquet of the syndicate of manufacturers of chemicals. In this address, Mr. Berthelot depicted the possible achievements of chemistry in the year 2000, and, though his description contains some humorous exaggerations, it also contains much that is true, of which the following is a brief synopsis. Mr. Berthelot gave a resumé of what chemistry had accomplished in a few decades and enumerated, among other things: The manufacture of sulphuric acid, of soda, bleaching and dyeing, beet-sugar, therapeutic alcaloids, gas, gilding and silvering, etc. Then came electro-chemistry, which completely transformed metallurgy, the chemistry of explosives, which provided mining and warfare with new engines, and the marvels of organic chemistry in the manufacture of colors, perfumes, therapeutic and antiseptic remedies, etc. But all this, said the lecturer, was only a beginning. Far greater problems would soon be solved. In the year 2000, agriculture and peasants would have ceased to exist, as chemistry would have made cultivation of the soil superfluous. There would be no coal-mines and, accordingly, no miners' strikes. Fuel would be replaced by chemical and physical processes. Tariff and warfare would be abolished; aerial navigation, employing chemicals as a means of locomotion would have done away with these antiquated institutions. The problem of industry consists in finding sources of power that are inexhaustible and can be renewed with the least possible amount of labor. Until now we have generated steam by the chemical energy of burned coal. But the coal is difficult to obtain, and the supply is diminishing daily. It becomes necessary to utilize the heat of the sun and the heat inside the earth. There is good reason to hope that both these sources will find unlimited application. Thereby the source of all heat and of all industry would be made accessible. If water-power were also applied, all imaginable machines might be run on the earth. This source of power would

barely diminish in centuries. By means of the warmth of the earth many chemical problems might be solved, among others the chemical production of food. Theoretically this problem is already solved. The synthesis of fats and oils is long since known, sugar and the hydrates of carbon are known also, and the synthesis of the nitrogen-compounds will soon become known. The problem of food is a purely chemical one. As soon as the necessary cheap power could be obtained, by means of carbon from carbonic acid, oxygen and hydrogen from water, and nitrogen from the atmosphere, food of all kinds would be produced. What had heretofore been done by the **plants** would henceforth be done by **industry,** and the products of industry would be more perfect than those of nature. The time would come when every one would carry a box of chemicals in his pocket from which he would satisfy his need of nourishment in albumen, fat and hydrates of carbon, regardless of time and seasons, of rain and drought, of frost, hail and destructive insects. This would lead to a transformation that was as yet beyond our conception. Orchards, vineyards and pastures would disappear. Man would become more gentle and humane, because he would no longer live upon the murder and destruction of living beings. Then the difference between fertile and unfertile regions would also disappear, and perhaps the **deserts would become the favorite resorts** of man, since they are healthier than the damp and marshy plains where agriculture is carried on at present. Then art and all the beauties of human life would attain their fullest development. The earth would no longer be disfigured by the geometrical figures drawn on its surface by agriculture, but would become a garden in which grass, flowers, shrubs and forests might be grown at will; all humanity would dwell in plenty, in a golden age. But man would not fall a victim to laziness and corruption. Work is needful to happiness, and man would work as ever, since he worked for his **own** welfare, for the development of his mental, moral and æsthetic possibilities.

The reader may accept as true from this address of Berthelot whatever he chooses. The fact remains that

future development will lead to a tremendous improvement in the quantity, quality and variety of products, and that the comforts of life of coming generations will increase to a degree that we can barely conceive to-day.

Professor Elihu Thomson agrees with Werner Siemens, who declared at the convention of scientists in Berlin, in 1887, that it would become possible by means of electricity to **transform the elements directly into food.** Werner Siemens held the opinion that it might be possible, at a remote time, to produce artificially a hydrate of carbon, as grape-sugar or starch, whereby the possibility would be given "to make bread of stones." The chemist, Dr. H. Meyer, declared that it would be possible to make ligneous fibre a source of human nourishment. In the meantime (1890), Emil Fisher has actually produced grape-sugar artifically, and has thereby made a discovery that Werner Siemens considered possible only "at a remote time." Since then chemistry has made still further progress. Indigo, vanilla and camphor have been artificially produced. In 1906, W. Loeb succeeded in achieving the assimilation of carbonic acid, outside of the plant up to the production of sugar by means of electric tension. In 1907 Emil Fisher obtained one of the most complicated synthetic bodies that is closely related to natural protein. In 1908 Willstatter and Benz produced pure chlorophyl and proved it to be a compound of magnesium. Thereby the main problem of organic chemistry —to obtain albumen—may find its solution in a future not too far distant.

5. — Removal of the Contrast between Mental and Manual Work.

A need, deeply rooted in human nature, is the desire for freedom of choice and for the opportunity of a variation of occupations. Just as the best food becomes disgusting if the same thing is constantly placed before us, so an occupation repeated daily in treadmill fashion weakens and dulls. Man performs his task mechanically and does what he must do, but without enthusiasm or joy. A number of talents and abilities are innate in every human

being that need but to be awakened in order to find expression and produce favorable results. Only thereby man becomes a perfect human being. Socialistic society will offer ample opportunity for the satisfaction of this desire for variation. The immense increase in productive forces, combined with a simplified process of work, will not only make it possible to limit the hours of work considerably, it will also make it easy **to master a number of varied accomplishments.**

The old system of apprenticeship has already been abandoned. It still exists, and is possible only among undeveloped and antiquated forms of production, as represented by small manufactures. But as these will completely disappear in the new society, all forms and institutions peculiar to them will disappear also. New ones will take their place. Even at present it can be seen in any factory how few workingmen have learned and practice a definite trade. The workingmen employed in some line of production or other may have learned the most varied trades. Usually a short time is sufficient for them to gain experience in one detail of the process of production, and to this one detail they are tied down then, according to the prevailing system of exploitation, for long hours, without the slightest variation, and without any regard for their personal tastes and inclinations. At the machine they become machines.* This state of affairs, too, will be removed by the new social order. There will be ample time to practice manual skill and to develop the mechanical arts. Large, splendidly equipped polytechnical schools will make it easy for both young and old to learn an occupation. Chemical and physical laboratories, in keeping with the standards of these sciences, will be erected, and capable teachers will be on hand. Only then will people fully recognize what a wealth of talent

*"The great mass of workingmen in England, as in most of the other countries, have so little free choice in regard to their occupation and place of residence, they depend so absolutely upon fixed rules and the will of others, as could be possible under any system with the exception of real slavery." John Stuart Mill—Political Economy.

and ability has been suppressed or wrongly developed by the capitalistic system of production.*

Not only will it be possible to satisfy the desire for variation, it must be regarded as **the purpose of society** to satisfy this desire, since **the harmonious development of man depends upon it.**

The professional types that we meet with in present-day society—be these types the product of a definite, one-sided occupation or of laziness—will gradually disappear. There are exceedingly few persons to-day who possess the possibility of a variety of occupations. Rarely one finds persons so favored by special circumstances, that they can escape the monotony of their daily task and can, after the performance of physical work, recuperate by mental work. On the other hand, we sometimes find mental workers who devote part of their time to some manual work, gardening and the like. The beneficial effects of an occupation founded on a variation of mental and physical work are obvious. Such occupation is **the only one adapted to natural needs.** It is taken for granted, of course, that every occupation must be practiced with moderation and according to individual strength.

In his book on "The Significance of Science and Art," Count Leo Tolstoi condemns the hypercritical and unnatural character that art and science have assumed as a result of our unnatural social conditions. He roundly condemns the fact that present-day society holds physical labor in contempt and advises a return to natural conditions. He asserts that every human being who wishes to live naturally and to enjoy life should spend his day—firstly, at physical work in agriculture; secondly, at some

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*A French workingman, who has returned home from San Francisco, writes: "I would have never believed that I would be able to practice all the trades that I have practiced in California. I had been firmly convinced that I was good for nothing except printing. But in the midst of these adventurers who change their trade more readily than their shirt, I did as the others. Since mining was not sufficiently remunerative, I left and moved into the city. Here I successively became typographer, slater, plumber, etc. As a result of this experience of being fit for all tasks, I feel less of a mollusc and more of a human being." Karl Marx—Capital. Vol. I.

manual trade; thirdly, at some mental occupation, and fourthly, in intellectual social intercourse. No human being should perform more than eight hours of physical work. Tolstoi himself lived up to this ideal and claimed that he has only become truly human since he adopted this mode of life. But Tolstoi overlooks that what is possible for him, the man of independent means, is not possible for the vast majority of people under present-day conditions. A man or woman who must work ten or twelve hours daily, and sometimes longer, to make a bare living, and who has grown up in ignorance, cannot adopt Tolstoi's mode of life. Neither can all those adopt it who are in the midst of the struggle for existence and must conform with its requirements; and of the few who might live in this manner, many would not wish to. It is one of the illusions in which Tolstoi indulges, to believe that exhortations and examples might transform societies. The experience made by Tolstoi, in regard to his mode of life, proves it to be a rational one. But to make this mode of life general, different social conditions, a new society, will be needed.

The coming society will establish such conditions. It will produce countless scientists and artists, but all of these will devote a part of the day to physical labor, and the remainder of the day they will devote to their studies, their arts and to social intercourse, according to their tastes and wishes.*

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*What people may achieve under favorable conditions of development is shown, for example, by the life of *Leonardo da Vinci.* He was a splendid artist, a famous sculpturer, an able architect and engineer, a military engineer, a musician and an extemporizer. *Benvenuto Cellini* was a famous goldsmith, an excellent modeller, a recognized military engineer, a good soldier and a capable musician. *Abraham Lincoln* was a wood-cutter, a farmer, a boatsman, a clerk and a lawyer, before he became president of the United States. It may be said without exaggeration that most people are engaged in occupations that are *not* suited to their abilities because their career has been shaped, not by choice, but by the force of circumstances. Many a poor professor might make a very competent shoemaker, and many a good shoemaker might become a good professor also.

The present contrast between mental and manual work, a contrast that is intensified by the ruling classes, who are anxious to secure their mental superiority also, will, accordingly, have to be removed.

6.—Increase of Consumption.

The above enumerated facts prove that panics, crises, nad unemployment will be impossible in future society. Crises arise because capitalistic production, incited by the desire for profit, and without any reliable means of estimating the true demand, leads to over-production and to over-stocking of the market. Under capitalism the products assume the character of goods that their owners indeavor to exchange, and the consumption of goods depends upon the consumer's **purchasing ability.** But this purchasing ability is very limited among a vast majority of the population who are not paid the full value of their labor and whose services are not wanted if their employers cannot squeeze profits out of them. **Purchasing ability and the ability to consume are two entirely different matters in bourgeois society.** Many millions are in need of new clothes, shoes, furniture, linens and articles of food, but they have no money, and so their needs, their ability to consume, remains unsatisfied. The market is over-stocked, but the masses are hungry; they wish to work, but cannot find anyone willing to purchase their labor-power, because the employers can derive no profits from employing them. Perish, become a vagabond, a criminal, I, the capitalist, cannot help it, because I cannot use goods that I cannot sell at a profit. In his position the capitalist is entirely justified in taking this attitude.

In the new society this contradiction will be removed. The new society will not produce "goods" to be "bought" and "sold," **it will produce commodities for consumption, not for any other purpose.** The ability to consume will not be limited by the purchasing ability of each individual, but by **the common ability to produce.** If there is sufficient labor-power and sufficient means of production, **every** want can be satisfied. The social ability to consume knows no bounds except **the satisfaction of the consumers.**

If there will be no "goods" in the new society there will ultimately be no money, either. Money appears to be the counterpart of goods, but is goods itself. Yet, at the same time, money is the social equivalent, the standard of value for all other goods. But the new society will not produce goods, it will produce commodities whose manufacture will require a certain measure of social working-time. The average time required to produce a given commodity is the only standard by which it will be measured for social consumption. Ten minutes of social working-time at one commodity equal ten minutes of social working-time at another commodity, no more and no less. Society will not wish to "earn," it will merely wish to bring about the exchange of commodities of the same quality and of the same value among its members, and eventually it will not even be necessary to determine the value. Society will simply produce what it needs. If it should become evident, for instance, that three hours of work daily are necessary to produce all the required products, three hours will be the fixed time.* If the means of production should be improved to such extent that the supply can be furnished by two hours of work, it will be two hours. If, on the other hand, the demands should grow and the increased productivity of the process of work would not sufficice to satisfy these demands, the working-time would be lengthened.

It can easily be calculated how much social labor will be necessary for the manufacture of each product.**

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*It must be noted again and again that production will be organized according to the highest scale of technical development and that *all* will be engaged in it, so that, under favorable circumstances, a working-day of three hours may still prove too long. Owen, who was a large manufacturer and was therefore competent to judge, estimated—in the early part of the nineteenth century—that a working-day of two hours would be sufficient.

**"The amount of social labor represented by a given product need not be determined in a round-about way; daily experience will show directly how much on an average will be required. Society will be able to calculate how many hours of work are represented by a steam-engine, a hectolitre of wheat of the last harvest, or a hundred square yards of cloth of a certain quality. Society will accordingly not think of expressing the quantities of work contained in the

Thereby the relation of this portion of work to the entire working-time can be calculated.

Any kind of certificate, a printed piece of paper, gold or tin, enables the holder to exchange same for various kinds of commodities.* If he finds that his wants are less than what he receives for his services, he can work less, accordingly. If he wishes to give away what he does not use, nobody will prevent him from so doing. If he **voluntarily** chooses to work for another, so that the other one may idle, or if he wishes to divide his share of the social products, no one will restrain him. But no one can com-

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products—that will then be directly known—in the relative, fluctuating, uncertain manner of a third product, inevitable at present, instead of expressing them by their natural, adequate, absolute measure-time. It will be necessary to arrange the plan of production in accordance with the means of production, including labor-power. The usefulness of the various commodities, balanced with one another and with the amount of work necessary for their production will uitimately determine the plan. Everything will be adjusted in a very simple way without the intercession of the famous 'value'." Fr. Engels—Mr. Eugen Duehring's Transformation of Science.

*Mr. Eugen Richter in his "False Doctrines" is so amazed by the fact that in socialistic society the use of money will be dropped (it will not be abolished outright but will simply become superfluous because the products of labor will no longer have the character of goods), that he devotes a special chapter to this incident. The thing that especially puzzles him is that it will be immaterial whether the working certificate will be a printed piece of paper, gold or tin. He says: "With gold the demon of the present world order would enter the socialistic state again" (Mr. Richter obstinately overlooks that eventually there will be only a socialistic society, not a socialistic "state," for a great deal of his argumentation would then loose ground), "for gold has independent value as a metal and can easily be hoarded, and so the possession of pieces of gold would make it possible to accumulate values to escape the duty to work and even to loan out money on interest."—One must consider one's readers very stupid to place such bosh before them. Mr. Richter who cannot free himself from the conception of capital, cannot see that where there is no capital, no goods, there can be no money, and that where there is neither capital nor money there can be no interest. We should like to know how a member of socialistic society could "hoard" his golden working certificate or could even loan it on interest, when all the others also own what the one offers and—*on which he lives.*

pel him to work for another person's advantage, no one can deprive him of a part of the share he is entitled to for his services. Everyone will be able to satisfy all desires and requirements possible of fulfillment, but not at the expense of others. He receives from society the equivalent of what he produces, no more and no less, and remains free from exploitation.

7.—Equal Duty to Work for All.

"But how will you discriminate between thrifty and lazy, intelligent and stupid persons?" That is one of the quetsions most frequently asked by our opponents, and the answer we give them puzzles them greatly. But these wise questioners never stop to think that, among our hierarchy of officials, the distinction between thrifty and lazy, intelligent and stupid persons is not made, but that the length of service usually determines the salary and promotion. Teachers and professors—many of whom are the most naïve questioners—have their salaries determined by the position they fill, not by the value of their services. In many cases officials, military men and scientists, are not promoted according to their abilities, but according to rank, relationship, friendship, and the favor of women. That wealth is not measured either by intelligence and thrift, may be seen by the three-class-electoral-system of Prussia. We find saloon-keepers, bakers and butchers, many of whom are not able to speak grammatically, enrolled in the first class, while men of intelligence and science, the highest officials of the state and the nation, are enrolled in the second or third class. There will be no difference between thrifty and lazy, intelligent and stupid persons, because that which we understand by these terms will have disappeared. Society, for instance, calls some people "lazy" because they have been thrown out of employment, have been driven to a life of vagabondage, and have finally become real vagabonds. We also apply this term to people who are the victims of a bad education. But whoever should venture to call lazy the man of means who spends his time in idleness and debauchery would commit an insult, for the rich idler is a "respectable" man.

Now what aspect will matters assume in the new society? All will develop under similar conditions of life, and everyone will perform the task assigned to him by ability and inclination. Therefore the differences in achievements will be slight.* The social atmosphere that will incite each to excel the others will help to level the distinctions. If a person should realize that he is unable to accomplish in one line of work what others accomplish, he will choose some other line better suited to his strength and his abilities. Everyone who has worked together with a great many persons knows that people who were inefficient at one task have proved very efficient when given another. By what right can anyone ask for privileges? If some person is so incapacitated by nature that it is quite impossible for him to accomplish what others accomplish, **society cannot punish him for the shortcomings of nature.** On the other hand, if some one has been endowed by nature with abilities that elevate him above the others, **society need not reward him for that which is not his personal merit.** It must, furthermore, be remembered that in Socialistic society all will have the same opportunities for education, so that all can develop their knowledge and ability in accordance with their talents and inclinations. As a result, knowledge and ability will be far more developed than in bourgeois society. It will be **more evenly distributed** and yet **more varied.**

When Goethe, during a journey along the Rhine, studied the Cathedral of Cologne, he discovered, by perusal of the architectural deeds that the architects of old had paid all their workingmen alike by time; they did so because they desired good workmanship conscientiously carried out. To bourgeois society this seems an anomaly. Bourgeois society has introduced the piece-work

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*"All normal well developed human beings are born *with approximately the same degree of intelligence, but education, laws and circumstances make them differ from one another.* Individual interest, properly understood, is identical with the common or public interest." Helvetius—Man and His Education. In regard to the *great* majority of men, Helvetius is right; what does differ are the talents for various occupations.

system, by means of which the workingmen compel one another to overwork and make it all the easier for the employer to under-pay and to resort to a frequent reduction in wages. What is true of material productivity is equally true of the mental. Man is the product of time and circumstances. If Goethe had been born in the fourth instead of in the eighteenth century, under equally favorable circumstances, instead of becoming a great poet and scientist he would probably have become a great **father of the Church** who might have outshone St. Augustine. Again, if Goethe had not come into the world as the son of a rich patrician of Frankfort, but as the son of a poor shoemaker, he would hardly have become minister to the Grand-duke of Weimar, but would have lived and died a respectable master-shoemaker. Goethe himself recognized of what great advantage it was to him to have been born in a materially and socially favorable position which helped him to attain his development; he thus expresses himself in "Wilhelm Meister." If Napoleon I. had been born ten years later he would never have become Emperor of France. Without the war of 1870 to 1871, Gambetta would never have become what he has been. If a gifted child of intelligent parents should be placed among savages it would become a savage. **Men are what society has made them.** Ideas are not the product of higher inspiration sprung from the brains of a single individual, but they are a product, created in the brains of the individual by the social life and activity amidst which he lives and by the spirit of his age. Aristotle could not have the ideas of Darwin, and Darwin had to reason differently from Aristotle. We all reason as the spirit of our age—that is, our environment and its phenomena —compels us to reason. That explains what has been frequently observed, that different people sometimes follow the same line of reasoning **simultaneously**; that the same inventions and discoveries are made at the same time at places situated far apart. That also explains that an idea expressed fifty years ago may have found the world indifferent, but the same idea expressed fifty years later, may agitate the whole world. In 1415 Emperor Sigismund could dare to break the promise given Huss and to have him burned at the stake in Constance. In

1521, Charles V., although a far greater fanatic, had to permit Luther to go in peace from the diet at Worms. Ideas are the product of social co-operation, of social life. What is true in regard to society in general, is especially true in regard to the various social classes that compose society at any given epoch of history. Because every class has its peculiar interests, it also has its peculiar ideas and views. These conflicting ideas and interests have led to the class struggles that filled the annals of history and have attained their culmination in the class extremes and class struggles of the present day. The feelings, thoughts and actions of a person are, therefore, determined not only by the **age** in which he lives, but also by the **class** to which he belongs. Without modern society no modern ideas could exist. This is clear to everyone. In the new society—let it be remembered—the means that each individual will employ for his education and development will be **the property of society.** Society cannot feel obliged to reward particularly what it alone has made possible, its own product.

So much in regard to the qualification of physical and mental labor. From this the further conclusion may be drawn, that no distinction will be made between higher and lower grades of work; as, for instance, at present mechanics consider themselves superior to day-laborers who perform work on the roads, etc. Society will have only such work performed as is socially useful, and so every kind of work will be of equal social value. Should it not be possible to perform some kinds of dirty and disagreeable work by means of mechanical or chemical devices—which will undoubtedly be the case, to judge by the present rate of progress—and should there be no volunteers, it will be the duty of each worker to perform his share of such work when his turn comes. No false pride and no irrational disdain of useful labor will be recognized. These exist only in our state of drones, where idleness is considered enviable, and where those workers are the most despised whose tasks are the hardest and most unpleasant ones, and often the most needful to society. To-day the most disagreeable tasks are the ones most poorly paid. The reason for this is that we have a great many workers who have been maintained at a low

level of civilization, whom the constant revolution in the process of production has cast out into the street, as a reserve force, and who, in order to live, must perform the lowest kinds of work, at wages that even make the introduction of machinery for such work "unprofitable." The crushing of stone, for instance, is notoriously one of the most disagreeable and most poorly paid employments. It would be a simple matter to have this crushing of stones done by machinery, as is generally being done in the United States. But in Germany there is such an abundance of cheap labor, that the introduction of the stone-crusher would not "pay."* Street-cleaning, the cleaning of sewers, collecting ashes and garbage, work in shafts and caissons, etc., might, even at the present time, with the aid of proper machinery, be performed in such a manner that most of the unpleasantness connected with them for the laborers, would disappear. But, as a matter of fact, a workingman who cleans sewers, to guard human beings against the dangers of germs of disease, is a very

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*If one had to choose between Communism with all its chances and the present social order with all its suffering and injustice; if it were a necessary result of private property that the products of labor should be divided as we see them to-day, almost in a reverse ratio to the work performed—*that the largest shares fall to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so on along the line, the remuneration becoming smaller as the work becomes more difficult and disagreeable, until at last the most wearing and exhausting labor cannot even be certain of earning the most needful means of existence; if, we say, the alternative would be: this or Communism, all scruples in regard to Communism, both great and small, would be like chaff in the scales.*"—John Stuart Mill—Political Economy. Mills has honestly tried to "reform" bourgeois society and to "make it listen to reason;" of course, in vain; and thus like every rational human being capable of recognizing the true nature of conditions, he finally became a Socialist. He did not dare to confess to this during his life-time, but caused his autobiography, containing his socialistic confession of faith, to be published after his death. His position was similar to Darwin's, who did not wish to be regarded as an atheist during his life-time. Bourgeois society drives thousands to such hypocrisy. The bourgeoisie feigns loyalty, piety and submission to authority, because their rule depends upon the recognition of these virtues by the masses, but inwardly they jeer at them.

useful member of society, while a professor who teaches falsified history in the interest of the ruling classes, or a theologian who seeks to mystify the minds by the teaching of supernatural doctrines, are very harmful individuals.

A great many of our present-day scientists and scholars represent a guild that is employed and paid to defend and vindicate the dominance of the ruling classes, by means of the authority of science, to let this dominance appear just and necessary, and to maintain existing prejudices. In truth, this guild, to a great extent, poisons the minds, and performs work hostile to the advancement of civilization, in the interest of the bourgeoisie and its clients.* A social condition that will henceforth make the existence of such elements of society impossible, will perform a liberating deed.

On the other hand, true science is often connected with very disagreeable and revolting work. For instance, when a physician dissects a corpse in a state of decomposition, or operates upon a purulent part of the body, or when a chemist examines fæces. These tasks are often more revolting than the most disagreeable work performed by unskilled laborers. Yet no one will admit that this is so. The difference is that the performance of the one work requires profound study, while the other work can be performed by anyone without previous preparation. This accounts for the great difference in their estimation. But in future society, where, by means of equal opportunities of education for all, the distinctions of educated and uneducated will disappear, the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor will disappear also. This is all the more so because the possibilities of technical development are unlimited, and much that is manual work to-day will be performed by machines and mechanical processes. We need but consider the present development of our mechanical arts; for instance, engraving, wood-cutting, etc. As the most disagreeable tests often are the most useful ones, so our conceptions, in regard

*"Learning often serves ignorance as much as progress." Buckle —"History of English Civilization."

to pleasant and unpleasant work, like many other conceptions in the bourgeois world, are superficial and founded entirely on outward appearances.

8.—Abolition of Trade. Transformation of Traffic.

As soon as the new society will have placed production on the basis sketched above, it will—as we have already noted—cease to produce "goods," and will only produce commodities to supply the social demand. As a result of this, trade will also cease to exist, as trade is needful and possible only in an organization of society founded on the production of goods. By the abolition of trade a great army of persons of both sexes will be mobilized for productive activity. This great army becomes one of producers; it brings forth commodities and enables society to increase its demands, or makes possible a still further reduction of the hours of work. To-day these persons live more or less like parasites on the products of the toil of others. Still they often work very hard and are burdened with cares, without earning enough to supply their wants. In the new society commercial men, agents, jobbers, etc., will be superfluous. In place of the dozens, hundreds and thousands of stores of all kinds that we find in every municipality to-day, according to its size, there will be large municipal store-houses, elegant bazzars, entire exhibitions, that will require a comparatively small number of persons for their administration. The entire bustle of trade will be transformed into a centralized, purely administrative activity. The discharge of its duties will be simple and will become still more simplified by the centralization of all social institutions. Traffic will experience a similar transformation.

Telegraph and telephone lines, railroads, mail service, river and ocean vessels, street-cars, automobile cars and trucks, air-ships and flying machines, and whatever all the institutions and vehicles serving traffic and communication may be called, will have become **social** property. In Germany many of these institutions, like the mail, the telegraph, the telephone system, and most railroads, have already been made state institutions; their transformation into public property is a mere matter of form. Here private interests can no longer be injured. If the state con-

tinues to operate in the present direction, so much the better. But these state-owned institutions are **not** socialistic institutions, as is erroneously assumed. These institutions are exploited by the state, according to the same capitalistic principles as if they were privately owned. Neither the officials nor the workingmen are particularly benefited by them. The state does not treat them differently from a private employer. When, for instance, in the bureaus of the national navy and the railroad administration orders are issued not to employ workingmen who are over forty years of age, that is a measure which proves the class character of the state as a state of exploiters, and is bound to rouse the indignation of the workers. Such and similar measures resorted to by the state in its capacity of employer, are much worse than when resorted to by private employers. The latter is always a small employer compared to the state, and the employment that he refuses may be granted by another. But the state, monopolizing certain branches of employment, may, by such maxims, with one blow drive thousands into poverty. These are not socialistic but capitalistic actions, and Socialists have every reason to protest against the assumption that the present state-owned institutions are socialistic in character and may be regarded as a realization of socialistic aims.

As large, centralized institutions will replace the millions of private dealers, and agents of all kinds, so the entire system of transportation will also assume a different aspect. The millions of small shipments that are sent out daily to an equal number of owners, and entail a great waste of work, time and material, will be absorbed by shipments on a large scale, sent out to the municipal store-houses and the large centers of manufacture. Here, too, work will become greatly simplified. As it is much simpler to ship raw material to a factory employing 1000 workingmen than to ship it to hundreds of scattered small factories, so the centers of production and distribution for entire muni ipalities, or for parts of same, will mean a considerable saving. This will be to the advantage of society, but also to the advantage of each individual, for public interest and personal interest will then be identical. The aspect of our places of production, of our means

of transportation, and especially also of our residences, will thereby become entirely changed. They will obtain a much more cheerful aspect. We will be freed, to a great extent, from the nerve-racking noise, speed and confusion of our large cities, with their thousands of vehicles of all kinds. The building of streets, street-cleaning, the manner of living, the intercourse of people with one another—all will experience a great transformation. It will then be possible to carry out hygienic measures easily, which to-day can be carried out only at a great expense and insufficiently, and often only in the residential quarters of the wealthy classes.

Under such conditions traffic and transportation must attain their highest development. Perhaps aerial navigation will be the favorite means of transportation then. The means of transportation are the veins that conduct the exchange of products—the circulation— through the entire body social, and are therefore particularly adapted to the dissemination of an **equal standard** of comfort and culture. To provide for the extension and ramification of the most perfect means of transportation to the remotest portions of the provinces will become a **necessity to the public welfare.** Here the new society will set tasks for itself that by far exceed those of present-day society. This highly perfected system of communication will also decentralize the masses of humanity that at present congest our large cities and centers of industry, and will scatter them broadcast over the land. This will not only be of the greatest benefit to public health, it will also have a decisive influence on the material and intellectual progress of civilization.

CHAPTER XXII.

Socialism and Agriculture.

1.—Abolition of the Private Ownership of Land.

Land, being the prime raw material for all human labor and the basis of human existence, must be made the property of society, together with the means of production

and distribution. At an advanced stage of development society will again take possession of what it owned in primeval days. At a certain stage of development all human races had common ownership of land. Common property is the foundation of every primitive social organization; it is essential to its existence. Only by the rise and development of private property and the forms of rulership connected with it, has common property been abolished and usurped as private property, as we have seen, not without severe struggles. The robbery of the land and its transformation into private property formed the first cause of oppression. This oppression has passed through all stages, from slavery to "free" wage-labor of the twentieth century, until, after a development of thousands of years, the oppressed again convert the soil into common property.

The great importance of the soil to human existence was the reason why the ownership of the soil constituted the chief cause of conflict in all social struggles of the world—in India, China, Egypt, Greece, Rome, the Christian middle ages, the realms of the Aztecs and Incas, and in the social struggles of modern times. Even at the present day men like Adolf Samter, Adolf Wagner, Dr. Schaeffle, Henry George, and others, who do not believe in other forms of common property, favor the common ownership of land.*

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*During the centuries when common ownership of land still predominated, but the robbery of land assumed ever greater portions, fathers of the church, popes and bishops have also preached communistic doctrines. Of course, the syllabus and the encyclical letters of the nineteenth century no longer contain references of this sort, and the popes too have become subservient to bourgeois society and rise to defend it against the Socialists. Bishop Clemens I (died 102 A. D.) said. "The use of all worldly things should be common to all. It is wrong to say: This is mine, this belongs to me, and that to someone else. It is this which has caused dissention among men." Bishop Ambrosius of Milan, who lived around 374, exclaimed: "Nature gives all blessings to all men in common; for God has created all things for the common enjoyment of all, that *the earth should be common property*.. Nature accordingly has created the right of common ownership, and only unfair usurpation creates the right of private property." In his Book of Homilies directed against

The welfare of a population depends primarily upon the cultivation of the soil. To develop this cultivation to the highest degree is eminently to the interest of all. That this highest degree of development cannot be attained under the rule of private property, has been shown. To obtain the greatest possible advantage from the soil, not its cultivation alone must be taken into consideration. Other factors must be considered to which neither the largest private owner nor the most powerful association is equal, factors that may exceed even the jurisdiction of the state and require international consideration.

2.—The Amelioration of Land.

Society must consider the land in its totality, its topographical condition, its mountains, plains, forests, lakes,

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the wickedness and depravity of the people of Constantinople, St. John Chrysostomus (died 408) wrote: *"Let no one call anything his own.*. From God have we received everything for common enjoyment, and *mine and thine are words of falsehood!"*. St. Augustin (died 430) said: "Because we have private property, we also have law suits, hostility, dissention, wars, rebellion, sin, injustice, murder. Whence come all these scourges? Only from property. So, my brethren, let us refrain from owning things, or let us, at least, refrain from loving what we own." Pope Gregory the Great (about 600) exclaimed: "Let them know that the earth whence they come and of which they are made *is common to all men,* and that the fruits which the earth brings forth should therefore *belong to all without distinction.*". Bossuet, the famous bishop of Meaux (died 1704), says in his "Politics of the Holy Scripture:" "Without the governments the earth and its products would belong to all men in common, just as air and light. According to the prime right of nature, no one may lay claim to anything. All things belong to all. From bourgeois government property derives its origin." The last sentence might be more clearly expressed in the following manner: because common property became private property, we have obtained bourgeois governments that must protect it. One of the moderns, Zachariae, says in his "Forty Books on the States:" All sufferings of civilized nations *may be traced to the private ownership of land.*". All the men quoted above have more or less correctly recognized the nature of private property. As St. Augustin says: Since its existence it has brought into the world law suits, hostility, dissention, war, rebellion. sin, injustice, murder,—evils tht will disappear again by its abolition.

rivers, ponds, heathers, swamps and moors. Besides the geographical location, which is unalterable, this topographical condition exerts a certain influence upon the climate and the nature of the soil. This is a vast field of activity, where much experience is still to be gained and much experimentation still to be performed. Until now the state has accomplished but little along these lines. Only moderate means have been applied to such tasks of civilization, and even if the state desired to adopt effective measures, the large landed proprietors, who have a decisive voice in legislation, would prevent the carrying out of such measures. Without interference with private property nothing effectual could be done. But since the state is founded on the "sanctity" of private property, and since the large owners of private property are its chief supporters, it is prevented from proceeding in the manner that has been designated. It would be necessary to undertake the amelioration of land on a grand scale, to plant forests here and cut down forests there, to irrigate and to drain; to mix different kinds of soil, to break ground and to plant, in order to attain the highest degree of fertility.

A highly important factor in the amelioration of the land would be an extensive system of rivers and canals, to be conducted according to scientific principles. The question of cheap transportation by water, so important to present-day society, would be of minor importance to the new society. Nevertheless transportation by water will be regarded as a very convenient means of transportation, requiring the least expenditure in strength and material. But of the greatest importance an extensive system of rivers and canals will be for purposes of irrigation and drainage, for the transportation of manure and other materials for the amelioration of the land, and for the distribution of the crops.

It has been determined by experience that countries where water is scarce, suffer much more from cold winters and hot summers than countries having an abundant water supply. For this reason maritime countries rarely suffer from extremes of temperature. Such extremes of temperature are neither advantageous nor agreeable to plants or human beings. An extensive system of canals,

combined with measures for the preservation of forests, would have a beneficial influence. Such systems of canals and large basins, to collect and preserve masses of water, would prove especially beneficial, when the melting ice and snow, in spring, or heavy rain-falls cause rivers and streams to rise and to overflow their banks. The construction of similar canals and basins would be required for the mountain torrents. Floods, with their ravaging effects, would then become impossible. Extensive surfaces of water and the increased evaporation would probably also cause rain to fall more regularly. These improvements would also make it possible to establish pumps and lifting apparatus for an extensive irrigation of the land whenever necessary.

Wide stretches of arid land might be made fertile by artificial irrigation. Where at present the grazing sheep barely find sufficient nourishment and where, at best, only emaciated looking trees stretch their lean branches skyward, an abundance of crops might be raised and a dense population might obtain nourishment and enjoyment. It is, for instance, only a question of the amount of labor employed, to transform the stretches of sandy soil of the March, humorously called "the sandbox of the German Empire," into an Eden of fertility. This was pointed out by one of the lecturers at the German agricultural exhibition, in Berlin, during the spring of 1894.* But the landowners of the March do not have sufficient means to undertake the building of canals, irrigation, amelioration of the land, etc., and so, just beyond the walls of the national capital wide stretches of land remain in a condition that will seem incredible to coming generations. On the other hand, by means of canalization, wide stretches of swamps, moor-land and marshes might be drained and won for cultivation; thus, in northern and southern parts of Germany, the canals might further be used for the breeding of fish, and small communi-

*An official report on the world's-fair in Chicago contained the following: "The utilization of water to raise fruit and vegetables becomes increasingly desirable. Water companies established for this purpose might transform deserts into edens."

ties that are not located near rivers might use them to erect bathing establishments.*

A few examples will suffice to show the influence of irrigation. In the vicinity of Weissenfels, 7½ hectares of irrigated meadows yielded 480 cwt. of hay, while 5 hectares, located beside these, that were not irrigated, yielded only 32 cwt. The former produced more than ten times as much as the latter. Near Riesa, in Saxony, 65 acres of irrigated meadows increased the net proceeds from 5,850 to 11,100 marks. By an investment of 124.000 marks for irrigation of the arid lands at the right bank of the Lippe, an annual gain of approximately 400,000 marks was obtained. The amelioration of the land undertaken in Lower Austria cost about one million crowns and increased the value of the produce by about six million crowns. The expensive improvements paid. Other parts of Germany, besides the March have an exceedingly sandy soil, and here the harvests are only fairly satisfactory, after a rainy summer. If these vicinities could be furrowed with canals, properly irrigated and ameliorated, they would shortly bring forth five and ten times their present amount. Examples are at hand in Spain, showing that well-irrigated soil brought forth 37 times as much as soil that had not been irrigated. So water is all that is needed to bring forth fresh masses of nourishment from the soil.

Hardly a year passes in which not one or the other of the German states and provinces is ravaged by floods. Large tracts of the most fertile land are carried away by the force of the water; others are littered with stones, sand and rubbish, and are made unfertile for years to come. Entire orchards that have required decades to be grown are uprooted. Houses, bridges, streets and dams are washed away, railroads are ruined and human lives

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*"In a highly cultivated part of the Austrian monarchy—in Bohemia—656,000 hectares of farm land are in want of drainage. 174,000 hectares of meadows are either too moist or too dry. Of course, matters are much worse in those vicinities that are less developed agriculturally, as especially in Galicia." Dr. Eugene v. Philippovitch —Political Economy.

are sacrificed, flocks perish and crops are destroyed Wide stretches of land that are exposed to frequent ravages from floods are not cultivated at all, or only slightly, since their owners do not wish to suffer constant loss. Devastation of the forests, especially on the mountains, and particularly by private owners, increases the danger from floods. The mad devastation of the forests, prompted by a desire for profit, has led to a diminution of the fertility of the soil in the German provinces of Russia and Pommerania, in Corinthia and Styria, as also in Italy, France, Spain, Russia, and other countries.

Frequent floods are the result of the devastation of forests on the mountains. The inundations of the Rhine, the Oder, and the Vistula are ascribed mainly to the devastation of forests in Switzerland, Galicia, and Poland. The same causes lead to the frequent inundations in Italy, especially of the River Po. As a result of the same causes, Madeira, large portions of Spain, the most fertile provinces of Russia, and stretches of land in Asia Minor, which were at one time fertile and blooming, have lost much of their fertility.*

At last even bourgeois society has begun to recognize that, in this respect, it will no longer do to maintain the policy of "laissez faire," and that, by sensible measures, applied on a large scale, the destructive forces can be transformed into constructive ones. So the construction of large dams was undertaken to collect immense quantities of water and to utilize the water-power to supply electric power to industry and agriculture. The Bavarian state especially has undertaken to dam the mountain streams on a grand scale to obtain power for the running of electric railways and other industrial undertakings. Agrarian old Bavaria is thereby rapidly becoming a modern industrial state.

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*According to Schwoppach, the forest is of immeasurable value by preventing of washing away the soil on the mountains and preventing the soil from becoming sandy in the plains. The devastation of forests in Russia is a chief cause why the cultivated land is becoming increasingly sandy.

3.—Changed Methods of Farming.

It is self-understood that these great tasks cannot be accomplished at once; but the new society will devote all its strength to these and similar undertakings, since it will be the avowed purpose of this new society to perform tasks in **the interest of civilization** and to permit **nothing to interfere with their performance.** In the course of time it will accomplish works the very thought of which would make present-day society dizzy.

Measures and institutions like the ones described above will make agriculture much more favorable. Still other points are to be considered in connection with the improved methods of farming. At present many square miles of land are planted with potatoes to be used mainly for the distilling of whiskey, which is consumed almost exclusively by the poor and needy portion of the population. Whiskey is the only stimulant they can obtain, the only banisher of care. But among the truly civilized people of the new society the consumption of whiskey will disappear; the soil and the labor power will be employed to raise wholesome food. We have already pointed to the cultivation of sugar-beets and the manufacture of sugar for export. In Germany more than 400,000 hectares of land, best suited to the raising of wheat, are devoted to the cultivation of sugar-beets, to supply England, Switzerland, the United States, etc., with sugar. Our standing army, the scattered methods of production and distribution, the scattered methods of farming, etc., make it necessary to breed millions of horses, and large areas of land are required to pasture them. The thoroughly transformed social and political conditions will enable the new society to utilize most of this land for agricultural purposes. Recently areas of many square kilometers have been withdrawn from agriculture, entire villages have been wiped out, because the new long-range firearms and the new methods of combat necessitate drilling-grounds on which whole troops may manœuvre. Such use will never be made of the land in the future.

The great realm of agriculture, forestry and irrigation has already been made the subject of discussion, and a

considerable literature exists on the subject. No particular field has remained unconsidered. Forestry, irrigation and drainage, the raising of grain, the cultivation of vegetables, fruit, berries, flowers and ornamental plants, the raising of fodder for domestic animals, cattle-breeding, raising of poultry, fish and bees, the preparation of dung and manure, the use of waste materials in farming and in industry, chemical examinations of the soil, and its preparation for one or another kind of crop, the nature of seeds, rotation of crops, farm implements and machinery, proper construction of farm-buildings, conditions of climate, etc.—all these things have been made subjects of scientific discussion and investigation. Almost daily new discoveries and experiences lead to improvements along one line or another. Since the researches of Thaer and J. v. Liebig agriculture has become a science. Indeed it has become one of the first and foremost sciences and has attained a degree of importance that few realms of productive activity can equal. But if we compare this tremendous progress along all lines with the true status of agriculture, it must be admitted that, so far, only a small fraction of the private owners have been able to make use of this progress, and all only pursue their private interest, regardless of the public welfare. The great majority of our farmers, we may say about 99 per cent. of them, are quite unable to make use of the progress and the advantages offered by science and by technical improvements, because they lack the necessary means, or knowledge, or both. Here the new society will find a field that has been well prepared, both theoretically and practically, and that it will only need to organize to attain the grandest results.

4.—Agriculture on a Large and Small Scale. Electric Appliances.

While even among Socialists some persons still hold the opinion, that small farmers are able to compete with the large agricultural enterprises by means of their own thrift and that of their families, experts have come to hold a different opinion. By over-exertion the peasant may achieve his utmost, but from the standpoint of a

civilized human being his position is a deplorable one. No matter how much he may achieve, the modern technical development and the science of agriculture can achieve more. But, above all, only by the appliance of science and technique does the peasant attain the full development of a civilized human being, while to-day he is the slave of his property and the helot of his creditor.

The advantages of farming on a large scale are immense. To begin with, the area that can be utilized is considerably enlarged, because the numerous paths and roads and ridges necessitated by the disjointed properties, disappear. Fifty persons, working on a large farm —regardless of the more rational implements used by them—can accomplish much more than 50 persons working on scattered farms. Only farming on a large scale makes it possible to combine and direct the forces so as to obtain the best results. To this must be added the immense advantage derived from the application of all kinds of machinery, the use of the produce for industrial purposes, the more rational methods of cattle and poultry breeding, etc. Electric appliances especially furnish advantages to agriculture that overshadow every other method of cultivation. P. Mack* has ascertained that the introduction of machinery led to a saving of over 5000 days' labor by horses, and that a single investment of 40,000 marks capital led to a cheapening of the product of over 12,000 marks' or 48 marks per hectare. This computation did not even take into consideration the increase in produce from the introduction of deep ploughing, or the more exact cultivation by machinery.*

Deep ploughing led to an increase of from 20 to 40 per cent. in the cultivation of grain, and up to 50 per cent. in the cultivation of potatoes, turnips, and the like. Taking

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*P. Mack Althof-Ragnit, Cavalry-Captain and Owner of Manorial Estate—The Development of Agriculture by Cheapening of the Cost of Production. An Investigation of the Service rendered Agriculture by Machines and Electricity. Koenigsberg, 1900.

*The packing into subterranean pits (Campbell) has become a very significant factor in recent years. In some regions of North America where rain is scarce, marvelous results have been obtained by this method.

an average of only 20 per cent., Mack showed that, on the farm under consideration, this meant a gain of 55.45 marks per hectare; together with the saving referred to above, this made a gain of 103.45 marks per hectare. Mack pointed out that it was necessary to establish a sufficient number of power plants, whereby not only all the machinery employed could be set in motion, but heat and light could also be supplied. By means of the electric plants, the dwellings, streets, stables, barns, storehouses and factories can be lighted, and if it should become necessary, crops can be reaped at night. Mack calculated that, by the general introduction of electricity, two-thirds of the animals employed for drawing and carrying loads (1,741,300) heads) might be dispensed with, which would imply an annual net profit of 1,002,989,000 marks.

The application of electricity makes agriculture more and more a purely technical, industrial process. The following compilation shows the manifold applicability of electricity in agriculture:* The following can be run by electric motors: 1. Machines that heighten the gross proceeds: A. for tilling: seed-assorter and electric ploughs. B. for the harvest: mowing-machines with binders; machines for reaping potatoes; irrigation-works. 2. Machines for reducing the cost of production: A. lifting machines, unloading machines in barns, grain elevators, pumps for liquid manure. B. means of transportation: groves, straps and bellows, field-railways, spindles and cranes. C. for utilization: straw-presses, corn-mills, chaff-cutters. 3. Machines of agricultural industry: A. distillery machines and machines for the manufacture of starch; water-pumps for various purposes. B. dairy implements: refrigerators, centrifuges, churners, kneaders, presses, etc. C. saw-mills, circular-saws and saw-frames. D. drills, turning-lathes, machines for wheel-making. 4. Food-chopping machines, for cattle-breeding: chaff-cutters, turnip-choppers, meal, potato and oat-ginders, etc.; squeezers, water-pumps. Investigations have shown that about 15 per cent. of all farm-

*Kurt Krohne—The Expanded Application of Electricity in Agriculture. Journal of Electrotechnics, 1908.

labor can be performed in this economical way, by the aid of electric motors.

The amount of manual labor power required for the threshing and preparation of 1000 kilograms of grain was ascertained:

	Number of hours required.
1. When all the work was done by hand	104
2. When small thrashing-machines and riddling machines were employed	41.4
3. When an electric thrashing-machine of 20 horse power was employed	26.4
4. When a giant electric thrashing-machine with winnowing and riddling machine, elevators, etc. was employed	10.5

There is nothing to prevent the general introduction of electric ploughs. Like the electric railway, the electric plough has already attained a high degree of development. The heavy and expensive steam-plough can be rationally employed only on large areas and for deep ploughing. It is especially serviceable for heightening the crops of potatoes, etc. But the electric plough can be used equally well for deep and shallow ploughing. It makes it possible to cultivate the soil on steep inclines, where it is difficult to plough with horses, or oxen even. It is a great labor-saving device, as may be seen from the following comparison of expenses for ploughing, when horses, oxen, a steam-plough and an electric plough were used:

	Cost per acre for ploughing number of inches of medium depth				
	4	6	8	11	14
Horses	2.50	3.00	4.20	7.70	13.30
Oxen	3.65	4.65	5.80	7.90	10.20
Steam-plough, rented, from	6.00	6.70	7.60	9.15	10.70
" " " to	7.50	8.40	9.35	11.00	12.55
" " owned, from	4.50	5.00	5.85	7.30	8.85
" " " to	6.00	6.70	7.60	9.15	10.70
Electric-plough, horse power 40	2.70	3.55	4.60	6.25	7.95
" " " " 60	2.65	3.40	4.30	5.70	7.10
" " " " 80	2.50	3.15	3.90	5.20	6.50

The simple supply and distribution of electric energy, the ease and simplicity with which electric machines can be run and kept in order, make their advantages to agriculture paramount, especially as a thin wire suffices to supply the power to extensive areas. As the employment of electric machines would necessitate a network of electric wires across the country, electric motor-power in agriculture could easily be combined with electro-cultivation, the direct influence of electricity on the growth of plants.

During recent years plant physiologists, as also practical agriculturists, were eagerly engaged in studying the influence of electricity on the growth and fructification of plants, especially the various kinds of grain. The task was accomplished by the late Professor R. S. Lemstroem (died 1906). He spread a net of wire across a large area of cultivated ground which, by means of a battery, he charged with positive electricity, while the negative pole remained on the ground, and subjected a field, or part of one, to an electric current during its entire period of vegetation, while an adjacent field, which was under observation also, remained uninfluenced. The experiments were tried upon various areas of different size, and, wherever carried out properly, they all showed the same favorable results. Firstly, the crop increased from 30 to over 100 per cent.; secondly, it ripened in a shorter time, and thirdly, the quality was considerably improved. There were still a few practical short-comings connected with this method, which Newman, an English agriculturist, succeeded in removing. He succeeded in interesting a famous English physicist, Oliver Lodge, in Lemstroem's method. According to recent reports from Lodge these experiments have been successively tried from 1906 to 1908; the area under observation has been extended to ten hectares, and it was satisfactorily proven that the charged wire net may be spread as high as five meters above the ground, without lessening the favorable influence of the electric current on the harvest. This altitude makes it possible to drive loaded wagons beneath the wire net and to perform all agricultural tasks without interference, while Lemstroem's net was not to be more than 40 centimeters above the plants to be in-

fluenced by the electric current.* Several millers instituted comparative baking experiments, and the electrified wheat was found to make better flour that that which had not been electrified. So the new method is ripe for being successfully introduced into agriculture and horticulture.

Fowler's steam-plough, with two compound locomotives, requires an area of 5000 hectares for its satisfactory application, which is larger than the cultivated area of most peasant communities. It has been calculated that, if the soil under cultivation in 1895 had been cultivated with the application of all available machinery and all other modern advantages, a saving of 1600 million marks would have been realized. According to Ruhland** the successful combating of the diseases of grain alone would make the import of grain into Germany superfluous. In his book on "Our Meadows and Produce of the Fields," Dr. Sonnenberg informs us, that Bavarian agriculture suffers a loss of 30 per cent. annually, owing to the spread of weeds in the fields. On two areas of 4 square meters each, one of which was full of weeds, while the other had been kept clear of weeds, Nowatzki attained the following results:

	Stalks.	Grains.	Crop of straw.
On the area with weeds...	.216	180	239 grammes
On the area free from weeds.	.423	528	1077 grammes

Dr. v. Ruemker, Professor at the Agricultural Institute of the University of Breslau, declares that a careful economy of the nourishment of the soil is almost entirely wanting in Germany. The cultivation of the soil and the sowing are done in such a thoughtless manner, according to old, acquired habits, and by means of such insufficient and imperfect tools, that the returns of all the labor must remain poor and unsatisfactory. He claims that the Ger-

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*M. Breslauer—The Influence of Electricity on the growth of plants. Journal of Electrotechnics, 1908. A small plant for purposes of demonstration is being erected near Berlin under the direction of Breslauer.

**Dr. G. Ruhland—Fundamental Principles of Actual Agrarian Politics. Tuebingen, 1893.

man farmers do not even perform the easy task of rationally assorting their seed. Professor v. Ruemker showed by the following table how the harvest can be increased per hectare by assorting the seed:

Wheat furnished	Not assorted kilograms per hectare	Assorted kilograms per hectare	Number of kilogr's more from ass'd seeds
Entire crop	8,000	10,800	+2,800
Grain	1,668	2,885	+1,217
Straw and chaff	6,332	7,915	+1,583
Weight in hectoliters of crop	77.2	78.7	+ 1.5

So, according to this table, 1200 kilograms more of corn might be obtained per hectare by properly assorting the seed, which, valued at 15 marks per cwt., represents a gain of 180 marks. Estimating the cost of assorting 4.40 marks per hectare at the most, there still remains a clear cash profit of 175.60 marks per hectare for the grain alone, not counting the additional gain in straw and chaff. By a number of experimental cultivations, Ruemker furthermore ascertained that by selecting that kind of grain best suited to each particular vicinity, the harvests might be increased and the gross receipts improved, on an average, as follows:

Rye	by	300—	700	kilogr's	of	grain	or by	42—	98	marks	per hectare
Wheat	"	300—	800	"	"	"	"	"	45—120	"	"
Barley	"	200—	700	"	"	"	"	"	34—119	"	"
Oats	"	200—1200		"	"	"	"	"	26—156	"	"

The gain obtained from assorting the seed and from a proper selection of the kind of wheat taken together, would, in the raising of wheat alone, increase the harvest by **1500 to 2000 kilograms of grain, or by 220 to 295 marks per hectare.**

In a paper on "The Future of German Agriculture," it has been shown how tremendously all agricultural products could be increased by sufficient and appropriate fertilization, by supplying mineral manure, as hypophosphate, phosphoric acid, etc. The German harvest of wheat might be increased on an average of 36 cwts. per hectare, and the harvest of rye by 24 cwts. per hectare. Moreover, a considerable portion of the land used for the

cultivation of rye at present, might, by proper manuring, be used for the cultivation of wheat, so that the average harvest of grain for bread—two-fifths of wheat, three-fifths of rye—might amount to 28.8 cwts. per hectare. After the deduction of seed and of grain of inferior quality, there would still remain 26 cwts. per hectare to feed the nation. The 7.9 million hectares that are planted with wheat and rye at present might be increased by an additional 1.5 million hectares of pasture, fallow-ground, heaths and moor-land, so that, with an average crop of 26 cwts. per hectare and a cultivated area of 9.4 million hectares, a production of 251.92 million cwts. of grain for bread might be obtained. With an annual consumption of 175 kilograms for every person, **enough grain for bread could be raised to supply the needs of 144 million persons.** At the time of the census of 1900, Germany had a population of approximately 56,345,000 inhabitants, and even at that time science and technics were sufficiently far advanced that the German soil might have supplied a population two and a half times as large with bread. Under the present agricultural system, with the scattered private ownership of land, Germany is obliged to import annually about one-ninth of its requisite supply of wheat and rye. If, under the present agricultural system, similar quantities were to be raised, it would mean so great an increase in the cost of articles of food, that a majority of the people could not afford to buy them, and that would not answer the purpose. These results can be obtained only by communistic methods, when carried out on the largest scale; but of course the authors quoted above do not think of that possibility. According to calculations made by them, by means of an intensified cultivation of the soil, the products of German agriculture might be increased as follows:

Rye and wheat	by	145.1	million cwts.
Potatoes	"	444.0	" "
Oats, barley, peas and beans	"	78.7	" "
Hay	"	146.2	" "
Fodder	"	110.0	" "
Turnips (for cattle)	"	226.0	" "

If we furthermore take into consideration the suggestions by Mack, quoted above, showing that a very great number of animals for drawing and carrying loads might be dispensed with by the introduction of electric power, we find that the breeding of cattle for nourishment might be considerably increased, or that much of the land used for pasture might be planted with food for man.

Another field of agricultural activity that might be developed to a far greater extent, is poultry breeding. The value of eggs imported by Germany annually amounts to 149.7 million marks (1907), and that of live poultry to over 40 million marks. The institutions for raising and breeding poultry are still sadly undeveloped. The concentrated methods of agriculture on a large scale will lead to the concentration of farming establishments, such as stables, store-houses, ice-houses, fodder and feeding; much time, labor and material be saved, and practical advantages will be obtained that are inaccessible to small and medium-sized establishments, and are but rarely enjoyed by large ones. How insufficient, for instance, are the hygienic institutions in most stables, how inadequate are the provisions made for the feeding and care of the cattle and poultry! That cleanliness, air and light are as necessary to animals as to human beings and have a favorable influence on their condition, is a fact known but little among peasants of the twentieth century. It is self-understood that, by a general dissemination and application of this knowledge, milk, butter, cheese, eggs, honey, meat, etc., will be obtained under far more sanitary and favorable conditions than at present. By a skillful combination and application of human labor power and machinery, not only the cultivation of the fields, but also the reaping of the harvest will be done by ways and means unknown to us to-day. The erection of great halls for shelter will make it possible to gather in the crops during any kind of weather, and, by bringing them in quickly, the enormous losses will be avoided that are so frequent now. According to v. d. Goltz, during one single unfavorable harvest-time, 8 to 9 million marks are lost on crops in Mecklenburg, and in the government district of Koenigsberg, from 12 to 15 million marks.

5.—Vine-Culture of the Future.

The cultivation of fruit and berries and horticulture will also attain a degree of development in the future that hitherto seemed almost impossible. To what extent the cultivation of fruit is still neglected in Germany, although the German climate is particularly favorable to the cultivation of orchards, especially apple-orchards, may be seen from the fact that more than 40 million marks' worth of fresh fruit and more than 20 million marks' worth of dried fruit are imported annually. One look at the poor condition of our fruit-trees in the greater part of Germany, even in countries like Wurtemberg, which are famed for their orchards, makes this easily understood. Here a wide field presents itself to agricultural and horticultural activity. The cultivation of berries is just begun and presents a no more favorable aspect.

By applying artificial heat and moisture in large, sheltered halls, it becomes possible to raise vegetables, fruit and berries in large quantities during any season of the year. The florists' show-windows in our large cities present as gorgeous an array of flowers in mid-winter as they do in summer. Wonderful progress in the line of artificial cultivation of fruit, is marked by the artificial "vineyard" of Garden-Director Haupt, in Brieg in Silesia, which has since been imitated elsewhere, and already had been tried in other countries; for instance, in England. Its equipment and the results achieved were so enticingly described in the "Vossishe Gazette," of September 27, 1890, that an extract of this description follows:

"The glass-house is situated upon an approximately square field of 500 square meters. It is from 4.5 to 5 meters high, and its walls face exactly north, south, east and west. It contains twelve rows of double fruit-walls, running from south to north, 1.8 meters apart, which at the same time serve as supports to the flat roof. In a bed 1.25 meters deep, resting on a bank of earth 25 centimeters strong, which contains a net of pipes for drainage and ventilation of the soil, a bed, whose heavy ground has been made loose and fertile by the introduction of chalk, rubbish, sand, manure, bone-dust and potash, Mr. Haupt planted 360 grapevines of the kinds that yield the

best grape-juice in the Rhine Province: White and red Riessling and Traminer, white and blue Moscatelle and Burgundy.

The ventilation of the place is effected by several apertures in the side walls and by slats 20 meters long attached to the roof, which can be opened and closed by a lever, and afford protection from the storm in any position. Twenty-six showers serve to water the vines. They are attached to rubber pipes 1.25 meters long that are suspended from a tank above. But Mr. Haupt has introduced still another truly ingenious contrivance for quickly and thoroughly watering his 'wine-hall' and his 'vineyards': **an artificial generater of rain.** Under the roof four long copper tubes are attached that contain fine perforations half a meter apart. Through these perforations fine streams of water are driven upward, strike small round sieves made of gauze, and, by being filtered through them, are scattered in fountains of a fine spray. It takes several hours to water the place thoroughly by means of the rubber tubes; but one need open only one faucet, and throughout the building a gentle, refreshing rain falls down evenly upon the vines, the ground and the granite walks. Without any artificial heating, only by the neutral qualities of the glass-house, the temperature can be raised from 8 to 10 degrees R. above the outside air. In order to protect the vines from their most dangerous and destructive enemy, the vine-louse, in case one should appear, it will suffice to close all the drain-pipes and open all the faucets. Thereby an inundation of the vines will be caused which, as is well known, this enemy cannot resist. The glass walls and roof protect the vineyard from storm, cold, frost and superfluous rain. A fine wire netting, spread over roof and walls, affords protection from hail. The artificial rain contrivance is a safeguard against draught. The wine-grower in such a vineyard makes his own weather and can mock the dangers of all the incalculable whims and treacheries of indifferent or cruel nature that threaten with ruin the fruit of the wine-grower's toil and care."

Mr. Haupt's expectations were fully realized. The vines thrived splendidly in the even temperature. The grapes ripened to their fullest perfection, and in the fall

of 1885 yielded a juice that was not inferior in richness and sweetness to any obtained along the Rhine. The grapes thrived equally well in the following year, and in that most unfavorable year, 1887. When the vines have attained their full height of five meters and bear an abundance of grapes to their very top, in this establishment about 20 hectoliters of wine can be produced annually, and the cost of wine per bottle to the producer will not exceed 40 "pfennige" (10 cents).

There is no reason why this new and most favorable system of vine-culture should not be introduced on a large scale. Glass-houses like this one, covering one-fifth of an acre, can without doubt also be erected on areas of one acre, or more, equipped with the same contrivances for ventilation, drainage and artificial rain. Here the vegetation will set in some weeks earlier than in the open air, and during the time of bloom the young vines will be protected from May-frosts, rain and cold; while the grapes ripen they will be protected from drought, from pilfering birds and thieves and excessive moisture; during the entire year they will be protected from the vine-louse, and the berries will remain safely on the vine until November or December. In an address delivered before the Society for the Advancement of Horticulture, in 1888, from which I have taken several technical terms in this description of Haupt's "vineyard," the inventor and founder of same closed with the following alluring perspective of the future: "Since this vine-culture can be carried on throughout Germany, also on otherwise barren, sandy or stony soil (as, for instance, in the March), after it has been made arable and watered, it becomes evident that vine-culture under glass becomes a matter of national interest. I would like to call this method the vine-culture of the future." The author then described how the wine obtained form the grapes had met with the highest approval of experts, and added: "The vineyard also left sufficient room for the cultivation of other plants. Thus Mr. Haupt, between every two vines raises one rose-bush, which presents a wealth of bloom during April and May. On the eastern and western walls he also raises peaches, and during April their luxuriant blossoms must impart to this glass palace a fairy-like appearance."

Recently Belgium has bestowed special attention upon this method of fruit-culture. But in Germany also it is being extensively applied, for instance, in raising pine-apples. Nothing will prevent the establishment of similar hot-house plantations for various kinds of plants, so that, with many products of the soil, we may enjoy the luxury of a double or threefold harvest. At present these undertakings are primarily a question of profit, and their products are enjoyed only by the favored few. But in Socialistic society the only question will be whether sufficient labor-power is obtainable. This being the case the task will be accomplished to the common advantage of all.

6.—Measures to Prevent Exhaustion of the Soil.

So we see that, even under present-day conditions, a thorough transformation in the methods of procuring food is taking place. **But the utilization of all these discoveries is extremely slow, because powerful classes —the agrarians and their social and political supporters— are profoundly interested in suppressing them.** Although in spring weekly prayers are offered up in all churches for a good crop, individual members of the congregations may feel like that pious man who implored his patron saint: "St. Florian, protect my house, set others on fire!" For if the crops turn out well in all countries the prices are lowered, and this possibility is dreaded by agrarians. What is advantageous to others is harmful to him, and therefore he is a silent opponent of every discovery or invention that benefits others besides himself. Our society dwells in constant discord with itself.

In order to maintain the soil in a fertile condition and to improve it, sufficient manure is essential. To obtain same will be an important task for the new society also.*

*There is a recipe for the fertility of fields and the eternal duration of their crops; if properly applied it will prove more remunerative than any that has ever been resorted to by agriculture. It is the following: Every farmer who takes a bag of grain or a hundred-weight of rape, carrots, potatoes, etc. to market shall, like the Chinese coolie, bring back with him as much, if possible more, of the ingredients of his products of the soil and shall give them back to the field from

Manure is to the fields what food is to man, and just as not every kind of food is equally nourishing to man, so not every kind of manure is of equal value to the soil. The ground must be given exactly the same chemical substances that have been withdrawn from it by the reaping of a crop, and such chemical substances, as are required for the cultivation of a certain kind of plant, must be introduced in large quantities. Therefore the study of chemistry and its practical application will develop to an extent unknown to-day.

Now animal and human excrements contain the very chemical substances that are suited to the cultivation of human food. Therefore it is important to obtain and properly distribute them. Little is done in this respect at present. Especially the cities and industrial centers, which receive large quantities of food, return very little of the valuable offal to the soil. As a result the farms that are situated far from the cities and industrial centers and that annually ship the greater part of their products into these, suffer from want of manure. Often the offal obtainable on the farms does not suffice, because the human beings and animals from which it is obtained have consumed only a small portion of the crops. So an exhaustion of the soil would be sure to take place, unless the want of natural manure were made up for by artificial manure. All countries that export agricultural products and receive no manure in return, will sooner or

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which he has taken them. He shall not despise a potatoe peal or a blade of straw, but shall remember that one of his potatoes needs the peal and one of his ears of corn the blade, His expense for this import is slight and the investment is sure; no savings bank is safer, and no capital will bring a higher rate of interest. The surface of his field will bring forth the double amount in ten years. He will produce more corn, more meat and more cheese without spending more time or performing more labor, and he will not be in constant anxiety seeking new and unknown means to keep his field fertile by other methods. Old bones, soot and ashes, the blood of animals and all kinds of offal should be collected in establishments erected for this purpose and prepared for shipment. The administrative and police officials in the cities should see to it that by an appropriate arrangement of drains and cess-pools this waste of material is avoided. Liebig—"Chemical Letters," Leipsic and Heidelberg, 1865.

later be ruined by the impoverishment of their soil. This is the case with Hungary, Russia, the Danubian principalities, etc.

In the middle of the last century, Liebig solved his theory of the reproduction of substance for arable soil, which led to the use of concentrated manure. Schultze-Lupitz proved that certain plants, although not given manure containing nitrogen, still added nitrogen to the soil, a phenomenon that was explained later by Hellriegel. He showed that the millions of bacilli, acting on certain leguminous plants, obtain the nitrogen for the nourishment of the plant directly from the air.* Chemistry constitutes one phase of modern, scientific agriculture, and bacteriology constitutes the other. In its deposits of potash, Thomas-slag, hypophosphate and phosphoric acid, Germany possesses a number of inexhaustible sources of mineral manure. A proper application of these, combined with an appropriate tilling of the soil, makes possible a production of enormous quantities of food.

An idea of the importance of the various kinds of artificial manure may be gained from the following figures: During 1906 Germany consumed about 300 million marks' worth of artificial manure. Among these were sulphate of ammonia for 58.3 millions; nitrate of soda for 120, and the rest was expended for Thomas-slag, hypophosphate, potash, guano, etc. The most important of these fertilizers are the ones containing nitrogen. The great importance of this substance may be seen from the following: Investigations made by Wagner showed that crops of oats from a field in Hessia diminished by 17 per cent. when there was a dearth of phosphoric acid; by 19 per cent. when there was a dearth of potash, and by 89 per cent. when there was a dearth of nitrogen. The net profits for one year per hectare were: When the fertilizer contained all the needful ingredients, 96 marks; when the potash was omitted, 62 marks; when phosphoric acid was omitted, 48 marks; when nitrogen was

*German Agriculture at the Close of the Century. Address delivered by Dr. Max Delbruek at the Royal Academy of Agriculture, on January 12, 1900.

omitted, 5 marks. It has been calculated that if Germany would double its nitrogen-manure, it could produce not only sufficient grain and potatoes to supply the demands of its own population, but could also export considerable quantities. And the chief sources of this valuable manure, the deposits of nitrate soda in Chili, like the deposits of guano, are rapidly being used up, while the demand for nitrogen preparations constantly increases in Germany, France, England, and, during the last ten years, in the United States of America also. As early as 1899 the English chemist, William Crookes, propounded this question and designated it as one of greater importance than the possibility of proximate exhaustion of the British coal mines. He therefore regarded it to be one of the most important tasks of chemistry to manufacture nitrogen fertilizers from the tremendous nitrogen reservoir of the atmosphere. It must be remembered that the quantity of air covering one square centimeter of ground, weighs approximately 1 kilogram, and that four-fifths of it are nitrogen. From this may be calculated that the nitrogen contained in the atmosphere of the earth, amounts, in round figures, to 4000 million tons. The present annual consumption of nitrate of soda is, in round figures, 300,000 tons. So even if the nitrogen in the atmosphere were not replaced, it would suffice to supply the demand of the entire earth during 14,000 million years. This problem has been practically solved. In 1899, A. Frank and N. Caro produced cyanide of potassium that contains from 14 to 22 per cent. of nitrogen. The new fertilizer has been introduced upon the market under the name of calcareous nitrogen. But Frank's and Caro's method is not the only one. In 1903 the Norwegians, C. Birkeland and S. Eyde, succeeded in transforming the atmospheric nitrogen into nitric acid by combustion, by means of electricity. This second method furnishes a product that is equal to Chili nitrate of soda in every respect and even superior to it for certain kinds of soil. In 1905 Otto Schoenherr succeeded in finding a method still superior to that of Birkeland and Eyde. For, besides the electric power, only the cheapest materials are required, i. e., water and limestone. So agriculture has been given a new fertilizer that can be obtained by a

purely technical industrial process, and has an unlimited supply at its disposal.*

According to A. Mueller, a healthy adult secretes annually on an average of 48.5 kilograms of solid and 43.8 kilograms of liquid matter. Estimated by the present prices of manure, these materials represent a value of about 5.15 marks. The great difficulty in fully utilizing this material lies in the establishment of large and appropriate contrivances for collecting same and in the high cost of transportation. A great portion of the excrements from the cities is conducted into our rivers and streams and pollutes them. In the same way, the offal and refuse from kitchens and industrial establishments that might also be used for manure, are usually carelessly wasted.

The new society will find ways and means to prevent this waste. It will solve the problem more easily, because the large cities will gradually cease to exist owing to the decentralization of the population.

7.—Removal of the Contrast between City and Country.

No one can adjudge our modern large cities a healthy product. The prevailing economic and industrial system constantly attracts great masses of the population to the cities.** They are the chief seats of industry and com-

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*According to Prof. Benthsen on sulphuric acid of the atmosphere. Lecture delivered at the seventh international congress in London.—Journal of Applied Chemistry, 1909.

**According to the census of June 12, 1907, Germany had 24 large cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants each. In 1816, there were only two cities in Germany having more than 100,000 inhabitants. In 1871, there were only 8 of them. The population of Berlin was, approximately, 826,000 in 1871; 1,880,000 in 1900; 2,040,148 in 1905. So its population had increased by 147 per cent. in 34 years. "Greater Berlin" had 875,328 inhabitants in 1871, and 2,469,009 inhabitants in 1900. In 1907, 42 large cities had 11,790,000 inhabitants, and their proportion to the entire population now amounts to, approximately. 19 per cent. A number of these large cities found it necessary to admit into their municipalities a number of the suburban factory towns that, according to their population, were cities in themselves, and so they grew in leaps and bounds. During the period from 1895 to 1905, Leipsic increased from 170,000 to 503,672 inhabitants; Cologne from

merce, and there all the highways of traffic converge. There the owners of great fortunes reside, and there the civil, judicial and military authorities are located. In the cities are found the great institutions of learning, the academies of art, the places of enjoyment and recreation, exhibitions, museums, theatres, concert-halls, etc. Thousands are attracted by their occupations, thousands by pleasure, and thousands of others by the hope of greater gain and a more pleasant life.

But this formation of great cities, figuratively speaking, reminds one of a man whose girth is constantly increasing while his legs are constantly growing leaner, until they can no longer carry the load. In the immediate vicinity of these cities all the villages assume an urban character also, and here the proletarians flock together. These usually poor municipalities must tax their members to the utmost and still are unable to meet all demands. When they have finally extended close to the large city they are swallowed up by it, as a planet that has come too close to the sun. But thereby the conditions of life are not improved. On the contrary, they become more unfavorable by the crowding of masses in congested dwellings. These gatherings of masses are necessary in present-day development and, to a certain degree, form the centers of revolution; but in the new society they will have accomplished their purpose. Their gradual dissolution will be inevitable, for then the contrary will take place. **The population will migrate from the large cities to the country, will form new communities adapted to the changed conditions, and will combine industrial and agricultural activity.**

As soon as the urban population, as a result of the development of the means of transportation, methods of production, etc., is enabled to transfer to the country all its accustomed requirements of culture, its institutions

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161,000 to 428,722; Magdeburg from 114,000 to 240,633; Munich from 270,000 to 538,983; Breslau from 299,000 to 470,904; Frankfort on the Main from 154,000 to 334,978; Hannover from 140,000 to 250,024; Duesseldorf from 115,000 to 253,274; Nuremberg from 115,000 to 294,426; Chemnitz from 111,000 to 294,927; Essen from 65,074 to 239,692, etc.

of learning, museums, theaters, concert-halls, libraries, social centers, etc., the migration will begin. Life will offer all the advantages of the former large city **without its disadvantages.** The dwellings will be far more sanitary and pleasant. The rural population will participate in industry, and the industrial population will participate in agriculture and horticulture, a variety of occupations that only a few persons can enjoy at present, and only by excessively long and hard labor.

As on all other fields, the bourgeois world is paving the way for this development, as each year a greater number of industrial establishments are transferred to the country. The unfavorable conditions prevailing in the large cities, high rents and high wages, compel many manufacturers to transfer their establishments to rural districts. On the other hand, the large landowners are becoming industrialists (manufacturers of sugar, distillers, brewers, manufacturers of cement, earthenware, bricks, woodwork, paper, etc.) Even to-day tens of thousands of persons who work in the large cities have their homes in the suburbs, because the improved means of transportation enable them to live in this manner.

By the decentralization of the population the present contrast between urban and rural population will be removed. The peasant, this modern helot, who, until now, in his isolation in the country, has been excluded from all modern cultural development, will then become a civilized being* in the fullest sense of the word. The

*Professor Adolf Wagner says in his "Text-book of Political Economy by Rau" that has been previously quoted: "The small farms constitute an economic basis that cannot be replaced by any other institution for a very important part of the population, an independent, self-sustaining peasantry and its peculiar socio-political position and function." If the author would not idealize the small farmer "à tout prix" to please his conservative friends, he would have to recognize the small farmer as the poorest of beings. Under existing conditions the small farmer is almost inaccessible to a higher culture. He works hard from dawn till darkness and lives like a dog. Meat, butter, eggs, milk that he produces are not consumed by him; he produces for others. Under existing conditions he cannot attain a higher status of life and so becomes an element detrimental to the progress of civilization. He who likes retrogression because it serves

wish once expressed by Prince Bismarck, that he might see the large cities destroyed, will be fulfilled, but in a different sense than he anticipated.**

CHAPTER XXIII.

Abolition of the State.

When we review what has been set forth so far, we find that, with the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, and their transformation into social property, those evils gradually disappear that bourgeois society presents on all sides, and which are becoming more and more unbearable. Class rule will cease. Society will apply all its activities according to its own plans, and will guide and control itself. By abolition of the wage system, the exploitation of man by man, deception and fraud, adulteration of food, speculation, etc., will be eradicated. The halls of the Temples of Mammon will be empty, for stocks, bonds, promissory notes, mortgages, etc., will have become waste-paper. The words of Schiller: "All old scores shall be erased and the world shall make its peace," will be realized, and the scriptural saying: "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread," will then prevail with the heroes of the stock-exchange and the drones of capitalism, also. The employers and capitalists will be relieved forever of that worry about their property which, so they pathetically assure us, is often even harder to bear than the workingman's lot of uncertainty and privation. The excitements of speculation, that give so many of our stock-jobbers heart-diseases and apoplexy, and cause them to be the victims of nervous prostration, will be spared them in the future.

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his own ends, may desire the continued existence of this social stratum, but human progress demands that it should cease to exist.

*In the Union Parliament at Erfurt, in 1850, Prince Bismarck raged against the large cities because they were "hot-beds of revolution" and should therefore be demolished. He was right. In the modern proletariat bourgeois society produces its own "grave-diggers."

Freedom from care will be their lot and that of their descendants, and they will not deplore this lot.

With the abolition of private property and class antagonism, the state, too, will gradually pass out of existence. "As the capitalistic method of production converts ever greater numbers of the population into proletarians, it creates the power that, under penalty of its own destruction, is destined to bring about the transformation. Since its tendencies are to convert into state property the socialized means of production, it blazes the trail for the achievement of this transformation. . . ."

The state was the official representative of society as a whole, its unification in a visible body; but it was this only **in so far as it was the state of that particular class** which itself represented society as a whole at its time; in antiquity, the slave-owning citizen; in mediæval days, the feudal nobility; in our own day, the bourgeoisie. By finally becoming the actual representative of society as a whole, **it renders itself superfluous.** As soon as there will be no social class that needs to be repressed, as soon as the conflicts and excesses will be removed that are rooted in the present anarchistic methods of production and the individual struggle for existence, there will be nothing to necessitate a special power of repression, a state. The first act wherein the state will appear as the true representative of the whole body social—the act of taking possession of the means of production in behalf of society—will at the same time be its last independent act as state. State interference with social relations will become superfluous in one domain after another and will finally fall into disuse. Instead of a government of persons, there will be an administration of things and a direction of the processes of production. The state will not be 'abolished,' it will die out."*

Together with the state will vanish its representatives: ministers, parliaments, standing armies, police, courts, lawyers and district attorneys, prison officials, collectors of taxes and duty; in short, the entire political apparatus. Armories and other military buildings, palaces of justice

*Fr. Engels—Mr. Eugen Duehring's Transformation of Science. Stuttgart, 1894.

and administration, prisons, etc., will then serve better purposes. Tens of thousands of laws, decrees and regulations will become just so much waste-paper; their only value will be an historical one. The great and yet so petty parliamentary struggles, during which the men of the tongue imagine that by their orations they rule and guide the world, will disappear. They will make room for colleges of administration and administrative delegations, whose purpose will be to consider and determine the best means and methods of production and distribution, to decide how large a quantity of supplies is required, to introduce and utilize new appliances and improvements in art, science, education, traffic, etc., to organize and direct industry and agriculture. All these are practical, visible, tangible objects that will be objectively viewed by all, because no one will have any personal interests hostile to the interests of society. It will be to the common interest of all to have everything provided for and arranged in the most effective and advantageous manner.

The hundreds of thousands of former representatives of the state will enter various professions, and by their intelligence and strength will help to increase the wealth and comforts of society. Neither political nor common crimes will be known in the future. Thieves will have disappeared, because private property will have disappeared, and in the new society everyone will be able to satisfy his wants easily and conveniently by work. Nor will there be tramps and vagabonds, for they are the product of a society founded on private property, and, with the abolition of this institution, they will cease to exist. Murder? Why? No one can enrich himself at the expense of others, and even the murder for hatred or revenge is directly or indirectly connected with the social system. Perjury, false testimony, fraud, theft of inheritance, fraudulent failures? There will be no private property against which these crimes could be committed. Arson? Who should find pleasure or satisfaction in committing arson when society has removed all cause for hatred? Counterfeiting? Money will be but a chimera, it would be "loves labor lost." Blasphemy? Nonsense! It will be left to good and almighty God himself to punish

whoever has offended him, provided that the existence of God is still a matter of controversy.

Thus all the fundamental principles of the present "order" become a myth. In later days parents will tell their children about them like about legends of days gone by; and, when told of the persecutions to which men of the new ideas were subjected, they will be impressed by these accounts just as we are impressed by the accounts of the burnings of heretics and witches. All the names of those "great" men who distinguished themselves by their persecutions of the new ideas and were applauded for it by their narrow-minded contemporaries, will be forgotten. At best they will only attract the attention of the historians engaged in the research of old documents. Unfortunately we are not yet living in that happy age when humanity may breathe freely.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Future of Religion.

As with the state, so it will be with religion. It will not be "abolished," God will not be "dethroned," people will not be "robbed of their faith," as all the foolish arguments are worded that are directed against atheistic Socialists. Such follies Socialists leave to bourgeois idealists who attempted such measures during the French Revolution and, of course, failed utterly. Without any forcible attack or expression of opinions, of whatever nature they may be, the religious organizations will gradually disappear and the churches with them.

Religion is the transcendental reflection of the social condition of every age. In the measure in which human development pregresses and society is transformed, religion is transformed likewise. "Religion," says Marx, "is the striving of the people for an imaginary happiness; it springs from a state of society that requires an illusion,* but disappears when the recognition of true happi-

*Karl Marx—"Critic of the Philisophy of Law by Hegel."

ness and the possibility of its realization penetrates the masses." It is to the interest of the ruling classes to prevent this recognition, and so they seek to uphold religion as a means for preserving their rule. This is clearly expressed in the well-known saying: "Religion must be preserved for the people." This business of preserving religion for the people becomes an important official function in a society founded on class-rule. A caste is formed that assumes this function and concentrates all its ingenuity upon maintaining and expanding the structure, for this means the maintenance and expansion of their own power and authority. At the lowest stages of civilization, among primitive social conditions, religion is mere fetichism. With a higher development religion becomes polytheism, and at a still higher stage, it becomes monotheism. It is not the gods who have created man, but man who has created the gods, or God. "In the image of himself (man) he created him (God); not vice-versa. Even now monotheism has dissolved itself into an all-comprising, all-penetrating pantheism that is constantly becoming more volatile. Science has reduced the doctrine of creation of the earth in six days to a myth. Astronomy, mathematics and physics make heaven a phantom. They make of the stars in heaven on which angels are enthroned, suns and planets that preclude angelic existence.

The ruling class, seeing its existence threatened, clings to religion, the support of all authority, as every ruling class has done.* The bourgeoisie itself does not believe,

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*The following utterance by Aristotle shows the opinion of the ancients on this subject: "The tyrant (in ancient Greece every autocrat was called a tyrant) must *appear* to take religion very seriously. For if the subjects believe their ruler to be pious and God-fearing they do not expect unlawful treatment at his hands; on the other hand they will not readily turn against him for they believe that he has the support of the gods." Aristotle—"Politics."

"The Prince must possess noble human qualities or, at least, *must seem to possess them.. He must especially appear very pious, extremely religious..* Though some will penetrate his guise, they will maintain silence on the subject; for the majesty of the state protects the Prince and by means of this protection he may betray the opposite qualities *if his advantage should require it.* Because he appeared

and by its entire development and by modern science that sprang from its lap, it has destroyed the faith in religion and in all authority. Their belief is hypocrisy, but the Church accepts the support of this false friend, because it is sorely in need of aid itself. "Religion must be preserved for the people."

For the new society no considerations will exist. Uninterrupted human progress and unadulterated science will be its device. If some one should have religious needs, he may satisfy them with those who share his belief. Society will pay no attention to them. Even the priest must work to live, and as he will improve his mind by work, the time will come when even he will recognize that **it is our highest destiny to be human.**

Ethics and morality exist even without religion. Only fools or hypocrites would assert the contrary. Ethics and morality are the expression of conceptions that regulate the actions and mutual relations of men, while religion comprises the relations of men to supernatural beings. But, like religion, our moral conceptions, too, arise from prevailing social conditions.* The cannibal considers it moral to eat human flesh. Greeks and Romans regarded slavery as a moral institution. Serfdom seemed moral to the feudal lords of the middle ages, and the modern capitalist deems wage-slavery, the exploitation of women and the demoralization of children by industrial labor, a highly moral condition.** These four stages of social evolution present four different conceptions of morality, but in none of them does the highest

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pious whenever his piety *did not interfere with his interests,* the majority of his subjects will consider him an honorable man, even when he acts contrary to the maxims of faith and religion. Therefore the Prince shall carefully cultivate worship and church affairs." Macchiavelli in his famous book, "The Prince."

*See K. Kautsky—Ethics and the Materialistic Interpretation of History. Stuttgart, 1905.

**Whenever a bourgeois is in want of arguments to justify what is injustfiable, it is a thousand to one that he will make his appeal to "morality." In the spring of 1894, at a meeting of the Evangelical Synod, a "liberal" member of the Berlin Court of Justice even declared it to be "moral" that only taxpayers should have a vote at church meetings.

moral conception prevail. The highest moral condition is one in which all human beings will be **free** and **equal**; it is one in which the principle, "do unto others as you would have others do unto you," will dominate all human relations. In the middle ages a man's pedigree was the decisive factor; at the present time his social status is determined by his wealth; in the future every human being will be valued for his own true worth, and the future lies with Socialism.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Socialist System of Education.

The late member of the German diet, Dr. Lasker, delivered a lecture in Berlin, during the seventies, in which he arrived at the conclusion that it is possible for all members of society to have an equal standard of education. But Dr. Lasker was an anti-Socialist, a rigid upholder of private property and capitalism, and the question of education under present-day conditions is pre-eminently a question of money. Therefore an equal standard of education for all is **impossible** at present. Some may attain a higher education even under unfavorable circumstances, by overcoming many difficulties and by applying an amount of energy that few possess. But the masses can never attain it so long as they must live in a state of social dependence and oppression.*

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*"A certain degree of culture and well-being is a necessary external condition for the development of the philosophic spirit..... We, therefore, find that only such nations begin to philosophize who had attained a considerable degree of well-being and culture." Tenneman, quoted by Buckle.—"Material and intellectual interests go hand in hand. One cannot exist without the other. There is a connection between them as between body and mind. To separate them means destruction."v. Thuenen, "The Isolated State."—"The best life, both for the individual in particular and for the state in general, is one in which virtue is sufficiently endowed with external possessions, that participation in good and virtuous deeds becomes possible." Aristotle, "Politics."

In the new society the conditions of existence will be the same for all. The requirements and inclinations will differ and will always continue to differ, since these differences are rooted in the nature of man. But each individual will be able to develop under conditions equally favorable to all. The uniform equality, imputed to Socialism, is like so many other imputations, sheer nonsense. It would be useless, indeed, if Socialism should strive for uniform equality, for it would then come into conflict with human nature itself and could not hope to see society develop in accordance with its principles.* Indeed, if Socialism should succeed in forcing society into unnatural conditions, these new conditions would soon make themselves felt as shackles that would be torn asunder, and Socialism would be doomed. Society develops by innate laws and acts accordingly.*

A proper education of the young must be one of the chief tasks of the new society. Every child that is born

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*Mr. Eugen Richter, in his "False Doctrines," reiterates the worn-out phrase: the Socialists wish a coercive state. That there will eventually be no state ought to be clear to the readers of our book. He assumes that socity would introduce a state or a social order that would be *averse to its own interests.*. But no new social order or state differing fundamentally from the preceding one could be *arbitrarely created.*. That would be in opposition to all the laws according to which state and society develop. Mr. Eugen Richter and those who share his views may find consolation in this: if Socialism really pursues the foolish aims that they impute to it, it will die off without any effort on their part.—Equally untenable is Richter's remark that for a social condition like the one aimed at by Socialists, men must be angels. To begin with, there are no angels, and we do not need any. Man is influenced by circumstances, but circumstances are also influenced by man, and the latter will be the case more and more, as men become better acquainted with the nature of society, *which they constitute,* and apply their experiences *consciously to their social organization.*. We do not need different human beings, but we do need *more intelligent and rational human beings than the majority are today,* and to make them more intelligent and rational, we agitate and publish books like this one.

*When we consider the boundless stupidity of our opponents, it seems marvelous that no one has as yet asserted that under Socialism all would be given the same quantity of food and underwear and clothing of the same size to crown the system of "uniform equality."

will be a welcome addition to society. In the child society beholds the possibility of its own continuity, its own further development. Therefore it will also recognize the duty of amply providing for the new being. The first object of its care must, accordingly, be the child-bearing woman, the mother. Comfortable homes, pleasant environment, institutions of all kinds suited to this stage of motherhood, considerate care for her and for the child—these are the first requirements. It is self-understood that women will be enabled to nurse their children as long as necessary and desirable. Moleschott, Sonderegger, all hygienists and physicians are agreed that no other nourishment can fully substitute the mother's milk. Those who, like Eugen Richter, grow indignant at the suggestion that young mothers shall give birth to their children in a lying-in-hospital, where they will be surrounded by every care and comfort that only wealthy persons can afford to-day, and that even they cannot obtain as perfectly as it can be provided in institutions especially equipped for the purpose, should remember that at present at least four-fifths of all children who come into the world are born under the most primitive conditions that mock civilization. Of the remaining one-fifth of our mothers again only a small minority are able to enjoy the care and the comforts that should be bestowed upon every woman in this condition. Even to-day some cities have **splendid provisions for child-bearing women, and many women gladly make use of these institutions when they feel their time approaching. But these institutions are so expensive that only few women are able to make use of them**; others, of course, are prevented by prejudice. **Here again we have an example how the bourgeois world everywhere contains the germs for future transformation.**

Motherhood among women of wealth and fashion becomes rather peculiar by the fact that these mothers transfer their maternal duties as soon as possible to a **proletarian wet-nurse.** It is well known that the Lausitz (Spreewald) is the region that supplies the bourgeois women of Berlin, who do not or cannot nurse their infants, with nurses. "The breeding of nurses" is carried on as a trade, since country girls do not hesitate to be-

come pregnant, because they find it profitable, after the birth of their babies, to hire out as nurses to rich families in Berlin. It is not an unusual occurrence that girls have three or four illegitimate children in order to hire out as nurses, and if they earn enough money by this trade they are regarded as desirable wives by the young men of the Spreewald. Regarded from the view-point of bourgeois morality, such actions are despicable; but regarded from the view-point of the family interests of the bourgeoisie, they become praiseworthy and desirable.

As soon as the child will have outgrown infancy it will join companions of its age in common play under common care and direction. Everything needful or desirable for the child's physical and mental development will be supplied. Every observer of children knows **that they can be most easily educated in the company of other children.** This quality can be successfully applied to the system of education.* The play-halls and the kindergarten will be succeeded by a playful introduction into the rudiments of knowledge and the various industrial tasks. They will be succeeded by appropriate mental and physical work, combined with gymnastic exercises and unrestricted motion on the playground and in the gymnasium, the skating-rink and the swimming-pool. There will be exercises, drills and wrestling-matches for both sexes, for the aim will be to bring up a healthy, hardy race that will be normal both physically and mentally. Step by step the children will be initiated into the various practical activities, horticulture, agriculture, manufacture, the technics of the process of production. Mental education in the various realms of knowledge will not be neglected.

The system of education will be purified and improved, just like the system of production. Many antiquated, superfluous methods and subjects, which only serve to hamper the child's mental and physical development, will be dropped. The knowledge of natural things, adapted to the child's understanding, will incite a far greater de-

*Fourier has accomplished this brilliantly, even though in carrying out his ideas, he approached the utopia. Bebel, Chas. Fourier, His Life and His Theories, 3d ed. Stuttgart, 1097.

sire for study than a system of education where one subject conflicts with and contradicts another; for instance, when, on the one hand, children receive religious instruction as taught by the Bible, and, on the other, are taught science and natural history. The equipment of the schools and the methods and means of education will be in keeping with the advanced stage of civilization of the new society. All the books and objects required for education and study, food and clothing, will be furnished by society; no pupil will be at a disadvantage with the others.* This is another chapter that causes indignation among our bourgeois "men of order."** They claim that Socialists seek to turn the school into barracks, and to deprive the parents of all influence over their children. Socialists do not aim at anything of the sort. In future society, parents will have far more time at their disposal than the great majority of parents have to-day. We need but point to the fact that at present many workingmen are employed ten hours daily, and even longer, and that many employees in the postal and railroad service, prison and police officials., etc., as well as mechanics, small farmers, merchants, military men, physicians, etc., must devote an equal length of time to their occupations. In future parents will be able to devote themselves to their children in a measure that is quite impossible to-day. Moreover, the parents will control the educational system and will determine the measures and methods that are to be adopted and introduced. For then society will be thoroughly democratic. There will be boards of education consisting of parents—men and women—and of the educators. Does anyone presume that these will act contrary to their sentiments and interests? That is done

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*Condorcet postulates in his educational plan: "Education must be general, free of charge, equal to all, physical, mental, industrial and political, and must aim at true equality." Likewise Rousseau in his "Political Economy:" "Especially must education be public, equal and common, to educate human beings and citizens." Aristotle also demands: "Since the state has but one object, it must give all its members one and the same education, and the care for them must be a public, not a private, matter."

**Thus Eugen Richter in his "False Doctrines."

in present-day society, where the state carries out its ideas of education contrary to the wishes of most parents.

Our opponents pretend that it is one of the most agreeable things to parents to have their children about them all day and to be constantly occupied with their education. As a matter of fact, this is not so. Every parent knows that the education of a child is no easy task. Several children facilitate education, but they cause so much work and worry, especially to the mother, that she is thankful when they are old enough to attend school, and she is relieved of their care for a part of the day. Moreover, most parents can educate their children but insufficiently, because they have no time. The fathers are engaged in their trades or professions and the mothers in their household tasks, and sometimes the mothers are breadwinners, also. But even those parents who have sufficient time usually lack the **ability.** How many parents are able to follow up the mental development of their children at school and to assist them? Mighty few. The mother, who, in most cases, might be best enabled to render such assistance, rarely has the ability, because she has not been properly trained herself. Moreover, the methods and subjects are changed so often that they are foreign to most parents. For most children the facilities at home are so insufficient that they have no proper order, comfort or peace for doing their home-work, nor are they helped by anyone. Often the home is small and overcrowded; the entire family are huddled together in a few small rooms, the furniture is scanty, and the child wishing to study lacks every comfort and convenience. Not infrequently light, air and heat are wanting. The books and school supplies are either wanting entirely or are of the poorest quality. Frequently also the little ones are tortured by hunger, which destroys all inclination for study. Hundreds of thousands of children are put to work at all kinds of domestic and industrial occupations that rob their childhood of its joy and incapacitate them for mental work. Sometimes children must contend with the opposition of narrow-minded parents, who object to it that the children devote time to their studies or to play. In short, there are so many obstacles that it is to be wondered at that the young are so well educated.

This is a proof of the health of human nature and of its innate desire for progress and perfection.

Bourgeois society itself recognizes a number of these evils and facilitates the education of the young by introducing free public instruction and, here and there, by also furnishing the school supplies. As late as the middle of the eighties the then Minister of Education of Saxony, designated both these institutions as **"Socialistic demands."** In France, where public education had long been neglected and then progressed all the more rapidly, progress has advanced still further; at least, this is the case in Paris. Here **the public-school meal, at the expense of the municipality, has been introduced.** Poor children are given the meals free of charge, and the children of parents who are in better circumstances must pay a nominal sum into the municipal treasury. Here we behold a communistic institution that has proved entirely satisfactory to parents and children.

The insufficiency of our present educational system—it often fails to accomplish the moderate aims it has set for itself—becomes evident from the fact that **thousands upon thousands of children are unable to get along at school on account of insufficient nourishment.**

Every winter there are thousands of children in our cities who come to school without breakfast. Hundreds of thousands of others are chronically underfed. To all these children public feeding and clothing would be a blessing. In a community that will, by proper care and nourishment, teach them what it means to be human, they will not become acquainted with a house of "correction." Bourgeois society cannot deny the existence of this misery, and so compassionate souls unite to found free-lunch establishments and soup-kitchens, to perform, as a **charity,** what ought to be performed by society as a **duty.** Recently a few municipalities have undertaken to feed poor children at public expense. But all this is insufficient and must be accepted as a charitable gift, while it should be demanded as a right.*

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*"At present 20 districts of Paris have established school-kitchens, where the children are given a noon-day meal consisting of meat and vegetables. Only this meal is obligatory, but in several districts the

It is well that the amount of home-work is being reduced in our schools, since the insufficiency of home facilities has been recognized. The child of wealthy parents is at an advantage over his poorer schoolmate, not only because he is privileged by outward circumstances, but also because he is helped at home by a governess or a tutor. On the other hand, laziness and carelessness are fostered in the child of wealthy parents, because their wealth makes study appear superfluous to him, and because demoralizing examples are frequently placed before him and he is approached by many temptations. He who learns daily and hourly that rank, position and wealth count for everything, acquires a peculiar conception of human duties and of the institutions of state and society.

When we examine this question more closely we find that bourgeois society has no reason to become indignant over the communistic methods of education aimed at by Socialists, for it has itself introduced such methods for privileged classes, but **in a distorted manner.** We need but point to the cadet schools, the seminaries and colleges for the clergy. Here thousands of children, some of them belonging to the upper classes, are trained in the most **absurd** and **one-sided** way and in **strict monastic seclusion** for certain occupations. Many members of the better classes, like physicians, clergymen, officials, manufacturers, large farmers, etc., who live in small towns where there are no higher institutions of learning, send their children to boarding-schools in large cities, and do not see them during the entire year, except at vacation time. It is a contradiction, then, when our opponents decry a communistic system of education and estrangement between parents and children, and at the same time introduce a similar system of education, only **in a wrong, insufficient and distorted manner, for their own children.** Only too frequently are the children of the rich not educated by their parents at all, but by nurses, governesses and tutors. A special chapter might be written on this

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children can obtain breakfast and afternoon-tea also." Helene Simon —School and Bread. Hamburg, 1907. It is due to the initiative of the Labor Party that a bill providing for the feeding of school children in England was turned over to a committee in 1906.

subject that would not cast a favorable light on the family relations of these classes. Here, too, hypocrisy prevails and conditions are anything but ideal, both for the educated and the educators.

In accordance with the entirely altered system of education that aims at the physical and mental development and culture of the young, the teaching force must be increased. The training of the rising generation should be provided for in the same way as the training of the soldiers is provided for in the German army. Here one officer has charge of from 8 to 10 men. If in future a similar number of pupils will be placed under the guidance of one teacher, the desired aims will be attained. Introduction into mechanical activities in the splendidly equipped workshops, and into horticultural and agricultural activities, will also constitute an important factor in the future education of the young. Everything will be taught with a proper variation of occupations and without over-exertion, in order to educate harmoniously developed human beings.

Education must be the same for both sexes and must be given in common to both. Separation of the sexes is justifiable only in cases where the differences of sex make it absolutely necessary. In this manner of education the United States is far advanced over Europe. Here education has been introduced from the primary school to the university. Not only is education furnished free, but the school supplies also, inclusive of the tools for manual training, lessons in cooking, and articles used by the pupils in the study of chemistry and physics. Many schools are equipped with gymnasiums, swimming-pools and playgrounds. In the higher schools the girls are trained in gymnastics, swimming, rowing, running, etc., as well as the young men.*..

The Socialistic system of education will attain still higher results. Properly regulated and ordered and placed under able control, it will continue until the age at which society declares its young men and women to be of age. Then the members of both sexes will be fully

*Professor Dr. Emil Hausknecht—"The American Educational System."

prepared to perform all duties and to enjoy all rights. Then society will be certain of having educated capable, fully developed members, human beings to whom nothing human is foreign, who are as familiar with their own nature as they are with the nature and condition of society, into which they forthwith enter, enjoying full equality. So the excesses of our modern youth that are daily increasing, and that are a natural product of our disintegrating social conditions, will disappear. Unruliness, lack of self-control, immorality and brutal sensuality, which characterize the modern young men at our higher institutions of learning, our colleges and universities, and that are the result of domestic demoralization and unrest and of the baneful influences of social life, will not mark the young men of the future. The evil influences of the factory system and the congested dwellings, that cause young people to be self-assertive and unbridled at an age when human beings are in the greatest need of education and of being trained to exercise self-control, will also disappear. Future society will avoid all these evils without being obliged to resort to compulsory measures. The social institutions and the resulting intellectual atmosphere that will dominate society will simply make the existence of such evils impossible. In society, as in nature, diseases and the destruction of organisms take place only where a process of decay has set in.

None will deny that our present system of education is afflicted with great and serious defects, and, as a matter of fact, these defects are more marked with the higher schools and institutions of learning than with the lower ones. A village school is a model of moral healthfulness compared with a college; a sewing school for poor girls, a model of morality compared with a number of fashionable boarding schools. It is not hard to find the reason for this. Among the upper classes of society every striving after higher aims has been smothered; **they are devoid of ideals. Owing to the lack of ideals and loftier aspirations, the unbounded love of enjoyment and the inclination to excesses are disseminated, with their resulting physical and moral deterioration.** How can young persons, growing up in such an atmosphere, be different?

A purely material enjoyment of life, carried to extremes, is all they see and know. Why should they strive after higher aims when the wealth of their parents makes every endeavor appear superfluous? The maximum education of the great majority of sons of the German bourgeoisie, consists in their passing the examination for one year's voluntary service in the army. When they have attained this aim, they believe that they have absorbed all knowledge worth knowing and regard themselves as demi-gods. If they have obtained a reserve-officer's certificate, their conceit and arrogance knows no bounds. The influence exercised by this generation, most of whose members are weak in character and knowledge, but strong in servility, characterize the present period as the "age of reserve officers." Its peculiarities are: Ignorance, lack of character, and a servile disposition. Men fawn on their superiors, and are arrogant and brutal to their inferiors. Most of the daughters of the upper classes are trained to be society ladies, walking fashion plates and silly dolls. They rush from one enjoyment to another, until they grow weary with the boredom of their empty lives, and fall victims to many real and imaginary diseases. When they grow old they become religious fanatics, spiritualists and faith healers, who turn up their eyes at the wickedness of the world and preach asceticism. In regard to the lower classes, efforts are being made to further diminish their standard of education. The fear prevails that the proletarian might become too wise, that he might tire of his subjection and rebel against his earthly gods. The more ignorant the masses are, the more easily can they be governed and controlled. Large landowners from the East-Elbe province have repeatedly declared in their meetings: "The most stupid workingman is the one most welcome to us." An entire program is contained in this one sentence.

So present-day society is as helpless and aimless in regard to the question of education as it is in regard to all other questions. What methods, then, does it resort to? It calls for punishment and preaches religion; that is, it preaches submissiveness and contentment to those who are far too submissive and contented already; it teaches abstinence, where poverty compels people to abstain from

the very necessities of life. They who brutally rebel against this state of affairs are placed in so-called "reformatories" that are generally controlled by religious influences. That is the limit of the pedagogical wisdom of our society. The vicious methods of education applied to neglected and demoralized proletarian children become manifest by the frequent cases of abuse and ill-treatment committed by the directors, overseers, etc., in these "homes"(!) Here it has been shown time and again how religious fanatics of the deepest dye have, with a perverted pleasure, ill-treated poor, helpless children with unspeakable brutality; and how many of these horrors may never become known!

CHAPTER XXVI.

Literature and Art in Socialistic Society.

When, in the new society, the young generation has come of age, the further education will be every person's own concern. Every one will do whatever his inclinations and talents prompt him to do. Some will devote themselves to one or another branch of the natural sciences that will be more and more fully developed: Anthropology, zoology, botany, mineralogy, geology, physics, chemistry, the prehistoric sciences, etc. Others will take up history, etymology, or the history of art. Some will become musicians, others artists, sculptors, actors. In the future there will be neither "corporate" artists and scientists nor corporate mechanics. Thousands of brilliant talents that have so far been suppressed will develop and will prove their knowledge and ability wherever an opportunity presents itself. There will no longer be **professional** musicians, artists, actors and scientists, but these will be all the more inspired by enthusiasm, talent and genius. Their achievements are likely to excel present-day achievements on these fields as vastly as the industrial, technical, and agricultural achievements of future society will excel those of modern society. An era of art and science will arise such as the

world has never known, and the achievements that will have created it will be correspondingly great.

The coming renaissance of art that will result from the introduction of conditions more worthy of human beings, has been foreseen by no less a man than Richard Wagner, who expressed himself on this subject as early as 1850, in his book on "Art and Revolution." This book is especially noteworthy because it was published right after a revolution that had been beaten down and in which Wagner himself participated. In this book, Wagner predicts what the future will bring. He directly turns to the working class, who must help the artists to establish true art. Among other things, he says: "When, for **the free human beings of the future,** it will no longer be **the purpose of life** to obtain the means of subsistence, but, as a result of a new belief, or rather, **knowledge,** they will be **certain of obtaining the means of subsistence in return for an appropriate natural activity, when, in short, industry will no longer be our mistress, but our servant, the true purpose of life will become the enjoyment of life, and by education we will endeavor to make** our children capable of its real enjoyment. An education **founded on the exercise of strength and the care of physical beauty, will, owing to the love for the child and the joy at the development of its beauty, become a purely artistic one, and every human being will, in some way, be a true artist. The diversity of natural inclinations will develop the most manifold tendencies in an unthought of wealth."** This is a thoroughly Socialistic conception and coincides with our description.

In the future, social life will become ever more public. Its trend of development can be best judged by the completely altered position of woman. Domestic life will be limited to what is absolutely essential, while the desire for sociability will be given the widest field. Large meeting halls for lectures and the discussion of public affairs—that will in future be decided upon by the people at large — dining - halls, reading - rooms, libraries, playgrounds, concerts, theaters, museums, gymnasiums, public baths, parks and promenades, institutions of education and learning, laboratories, etc., all splendidly equipped, will afford ample opportunity for entertainment and so-

ciability, and will enable science and art to attain the highest degree of development. In the same way the institutions for the care of the sick, the infirm and the aged will meet the highest demands.

How petty will our present age seem in comparison! This fawning for favors and good-will from above, this servile disposition, this envious struggle against one another for the best place, carried on by the lowest and most spiteful means, and, at the same time, suppresison of one's true convictions, concealing of good qualities that might displease those whose favor it sought, emasculation of character, the feigning of opinions and feelings that one does not possess—all these qualities that may be termed cowardice and hypocrisy, are daily becoming more pronounced. Qualities that are truly ennobling, self-confidence, independence and incorruptibility of one's opinions, are usually turned into faults and short-comings under present-day conditions. Persons who cannot suppress these good qualities are often ruined by them. Many are so accustomed to their degradation that they do not even perceive it. The dog regards it as a matter of course that he has a master who is sometimes ill-tempered and whips him.

The altered conditions of social life will also thoroughly revolutionize our literature. The theological literature, which furnishes the largest number of works in the annual catalogues of literary productions, will be eliminated, together with the judicial literature. For the one there will be no more interest, and for the other no need. The products that have reference to the struggles over institutions of the state, will also be eliminated, because these institutions will no longer exist. They will assume the character of historical studies. The numerous literary products of a highly superficial nature, which are just a proof of bad taste and sometimes are made possible only by a sacrifice of the author's pride, will be dropped. Even from the the present point of view, we may say that four-fifths of all literary products might disappear from the market **without a loss to one single interest of civilization,** so great is the mass of superficial or harmful products and obvious trash on the field of literature.

Fiction and the press will be affected in an equal measure. There is nothing more superficial and insipid than the greater part of our journalistic literature. If our standard of civilization were to be estimated by the contents of our newspapers, it would be deemed a low one, indeed. People and conditions are judged by the opinions of past centuries that have long since been proven untenable by science. A great many of our journalists are persons who, as Bismarck correctly said, have missed their vocation, but whose standard of education and salary are in keeping with the bourgeois interest in their trade. Moreover, the newspapers, as well as a majority of the magazines, have a very unworthy mission in their advertising sections, and their reports of the money-market serve the same interests on a different field. The material interest of the publishers determines the contents. Modern fiction is, on an average, not much better than journalistic literature. It cultivates the excesses of sexual relations. It either renders homage to superficial enlightenment, or to antiquated prejudice and superstition. The purpose is to let the bourgeois world appear as the best of worlds, regardless of the numerous short-comings that are, to some extent, admitted.

On this wide and important realm future society will have to clear up thoroughly. Science, truth, beauty and the conflict of opinions as to what is best, will alone control it. Every person of talent and ability will be enabled to participate. The writer will no longer depend upon the favor of the publisher, financial interest or prejudice; he will depend upon the judgment of impartial experts whom he will help to select and against whose decisions he may appeal to the community—all of which is impossible to-day with a publisher or the editor of a newspaper, who only take their private interest into consideration. The naïve conception, that a difference of opinions would be suppressed in a Socialistic community, can be maintained only by those who consider the bourgeois world a perfect state of society, and, out of hostility to Socialism, seek to slander and belittle it. A society founded upon perfect, democratic equality, will bear no oppression. **Only perfect freedom of thought makes uninterrupted progress possible, which is the principle of**

life for society. It is a gross misrepresentation to depict bourgeois society as a defender of real freedom of thought. Parties that represent the interests of the ruling classes will only publish that in the press which is not adverse to class interests, and woe to him who would do otherwise! His social ruin is certain, as every one knows who is acquainted with conditions. The writers know how the publishers treat literary works that do not suit them. Finally, the press and criminal laws betray what spirit dominates the ruling classes. True freedom of thought appears to them as the most dangerous of all evils.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Free Development of Individuality.

1.—Freedom from Care.

Man should be given an opportunity for perfect development. That is the purpose of human association. So he must not remain tied down to the spot where he has been placed by the chance of birth. One should become acquainted with the world and people not only through books and newspapers, but also by personal observation and practical experience. So future society must enable all to do what many are able to do even in present-day society, though at present the force of want usually forms the motive. **The desire for change in all human relations is deeply rooted in human nature.** This is due to the impulse of seeking perfection that is innate in every living being. The plant that is placed in a dark room extends and stretches, as if conscious of the ray of light that penetrates some crevice. It is the same with man. An instinct, that is innate in man, must find rational satisfaction. The desire for change will not be opposed by the conditions prevailing in the new society; the satisfaction of this desire will, on the contrary, become possible to all. The highly developed system of communication will make it easy, and the international relations will demand it. In the future far more persons

will travel through the world, for the most varied purposes, than heretofore.

Society will require an ample supply of all the necessities of life to meet all demands. Society will therefore regulate its hours of work according to the needs. It will lengthen or shorten them, as the demands or the season of the year make this appear desirable. During one season it will devote more time to agriculture, and during another it will devote more time to industry and to artistic crafts. It will direct the labor forces as the needs may let it appear desirable. By combining various labor forces with the most perfect technical appliances, it will be able to carry out large undertakings playfully, that seem practically impossible to-day.

As society provides for the young, so also will it provide for the old, the sick and invalid. If any one has, by some misfortune, become incapacitated for work, society will provide for him. This will not be an act of charity, but a simple performance of duty. The assistance will not be a morsel graciously given, but support and care provided with every possible consideration, bestowed as a matter of course upon him who performed his duty toward societv as long as he was able to do so. The evening of life will be made beautiful by all that society has to offer. For every one will hope himself to receive some day what he bestows upon other aged persons. No old person will be harassed by the thought that others are awaiting their death to inherit their possessions. They are also freed from the terror of being cast aside like a squeezed lemon when they have become old and helpless. They must neither depend on the kindness and support of their children, nor on public charity.* How unfortunate is the position of most

*"The person who has worked hard and honestly until old age, should not depend upon the benevolence of his children or that of bourgeois society. An independent, easy and care-free old age is the natural reward for continuous exertions during the days of health and strength." v. Thuenen—The Isolated State. But how are the aged treated in bourgeois socitey? Millions look forward with dread to the time when they will be cast out into the street because they have grown old; and our industrial system makes people age before their time. The much boasted old age and invalid pension in the

parents who in old age must depend upon the support of their children, is a well-known fact. And how demoralizing to children and to relatives is the hope of inheriting! What degrading passions are aroused and how many crimes are caused thereby—murder, suppression, legacy-hunting, perjury and blackmailing!

The moral and physical condition of society, the nature of its work, homes, food, dress, its social life, all will tend to prevent accidents, sickness and debility. Dying a natural death, the normal decline of the vigor of life, will become the rule more and more. The conviction that heaven is upon earth and that death means the end, will cause people to lead a rational life. He who enjoys longest, enjoys most. The clergy themselves, who prepare people for "the hereafter," know how to value a long life. Their care-free existence enables them to attain the highest average age.

2.—Changes in the Methods of Nutrition.

Food and drink are prime necessities of life. People who believe in the so-called "natural manner of living" frequently ask why Socialists remain indifferent to vegetarianism. Everyone lives as best he may. Vegetarianism, that is, the doctrine of an exclusive vegetable diet, found its chief supporters among the persons who are so comfortably situated that they are able to choose between a vegetable and an animal diet. But the great majority of persons have no choice. They must live according to their means, and the scantiness of their means compels them to live on a vegetable diet almost exclusively and often on one of the poorest quality. For the German laboring population in Silesia, Saxony, Thuringia, etc., the potato is the principal article of food; even bread comes only second. Meat only rarely appears on their tables, and then it is meat of the poorest quality. The greater part of the rural population, although they raise cattle, also rarely eat meat; for they must sell the

German Empire is only a very scanty substitute; even its most ardent supporters admit that. The assistance rendered is still much more insufficient than the pensions allowed by the municipalities to the majority of their pensioned officials.

cattle, and, with the money obtained, must satisfy other needs. To these numerous people who are obliged to live as vegetarians, a solid beefsteak or a good leg of mutton would mean a decided improvement in their nourishment.* If vegetarianism opposes the **overeating** of an animal diet, it is right. If it combats the partaking of meat as harmful and detrimental, mainly for sentimental reasons, it is wrong; when it is claimed, for instance, that natural feelings forbid to kill an animal and to partake of a "corpse." The desire to live in peace compels us to wage war upon and destroy a great many living creatures, such as vermin, and, in order not to be devoured ourselves, we must kill and exterminate wild beasts. If we could allow "the good friends of man," the domestic animals, to live undisturbed, these "good friends" would multiply to such a degree that they would "eat" us by robbing us of nourishment. The assertion that vegetable diet creates a gentle disposition is false, too. Even in the gentle, vegetarian Hindoos the "beast" was aroused, when the severity of the English drove them to rebellion. The nutritive value of an article of food cannot be estimated only by the amount of albumen that it contains. It must be taken into consideration how large a quantity of the albumen consumed re-

* That this is the fact has been proven by experiments in nutrition, recently reported by two Italian scientists. The metabolic assimilation of a population that has long since lived on a vegetable diet exclusively, was examined. Such an agricultural population, living in wretched economic conditions, is met with in southern Italy in the Abruzzi. Their nourishment consists of corn, vegetables and olive oil. They do not partake of milk, cheese or eggs. Meat is brought to their tables only three or four times a year. By way of experiment meat was added to their diet. During 15 days every person was given 100 grammes of meat and during the following 15 days 200 grammes. It was found that the process of assimilation became much more favorable. The formerly great loss of nutritious matter was considerably diminished. Not only was the newly added animal albumen perfectly assimilated, but also the vegetable food that was consumed together with the meat had been assimilated far better. This was all the more remarkable because this particular kind of vegetable diet, which consisted almost exclusively of corn, was hard to digest, as it contains much cellular tissue. Dr. A. Lipschuetz, M. D.—"A Reform in our Nutrition?"

mains undigested. Considered from this view-point, we find, for instance, meat and rice, or potatoes, as 2.5 to 20 or 22. In other words, of 100 grammes of albumen consumed with meat, 2.5 grammes will pass out of the system undigested. Of 100 grammes consumed with rice or potatoes, respectively, 20 and 22 grammes will pass out. The famous Russian physiologist, Pavlow, and his scholars have shown that, with the digestion of bread, there is much more ferment than with the digestion of meat. Pawlow has furthermore shown that the gastric juices produced by the pancreas glands are of two kinds. They are produced through stimulation of the mucous membrane by the food itself, and are also produced as "appetite juices" by stimulation of the senses. The quantity of our appetite juice depends upon our psychic condition for the time being; for instance, on hunger, grief, annoyance, joy, etc., and it also depends upon the nature of the food. But the importance of the appetite juice differs with different articles of food. Some foods, as, for instance, bread, boiled albumen, as contained in eggs, or pure starch, cannot be digested at all, unless the digestion is introduced by the appetite juice, as has been directly proved by experiments. They can only be digested when they are eaten with an appetite, or together with other food. But meat, as Pawlow has shown, can be partly digested without appetite juice, although, with the aid of appetite juice, meat is digested much more rapidly (five times as fast). **"We must therefore take factors into consideration that depend upon the psychology of man. Here a connection has been established between facts of the physiology of nutrition and social conditions. The modern residents of large cities, especially the masses of the working class, live under social conditions that are bound to destroy their normal appetite. Work in the squalid factory, the constant worry over their daily bread, absence of mental repose and pleasant impressions, complete physical exhaustion, all these are factors that are destructive of appetite.** In this psychological condition we are unable to furnish the appetite juice required for the digestion of vegetable food. But in meat we possess an article of food that—if we may thus express it—provides for its own digestion. A

considerable quantity of meat can be digested without appetite; it also acts as a stimulant and a creator of appetite. So meat aids the digestion of vegetables consumed at the same time, and thereby insures a better assimilation of the consumed matter. This appears to be the great advantage of an animal diet to modern man."*

Sonderegger hits the nail on the head when he says: "There is no order of rank among articles of food, but there is an immutable law regarding the combination of their nutritive qualities." It is true that no one can live on an animal diet exclusively, while one can live on a vegetable diet, provided that the diet can be properly selected. On the other hand, no one would care to content himself with one specific kind of vegetable food, no matter how nutritive it might be. Thus, beans, peas, lentils, in one word, the leguminosæ, are the most nutritive of all articles of food. But to live on them exclusively—which is said to be possible—would be a torture. Karl Marx mentions, in his first volume of "Capital," that the mine-owners in Chili compel their workingmen to eat beans all the year round, because this nourishment gives them an unusual amount of strength and enables them to carry loads as no other nourishment will. The workingmen refuse the beans, notwithstanding their nutritive value, but are compelled to content themselves with this diet. Under no circumstances does the happiness and welfare of man depend upon a definite kind of food, as the fanatics among vegetarians claim. Climate, social conditions, custom and personal taste are the determining factors.**

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*A. Lipschuetz.

**"The popular nutrition is almost exclusively a vegetable diet with a slight addition of animal substances. Peasants eat generally very little meat. No one will deny that one can live in this manner. As a matter of fact, an exclusive vegetable diet, which can also be given greater diversity by proper selection, is quite compatible with good health. But far different needs are becoming manifest in every continent. The popular simple manner of nutrition is being forsaken for more tasty foods and combinations, and for this meat is essential, because it can be employed in many different ways. Everywhere we perceive this tendency. Like the old, simple customs and national customs disappear, so also are the old forms of nutrition being set

In the measue in which civilization advances, exclusive meat diet, as is met with among hunting and pastoral tribes, is partly replaced by vegetable diet. The variety of cultivated plants is a proof of higher civilization. On a given area, moreover, much more nourishment can be obtained by the cultivation of plants than by the breeding of cattle. This development gradually causes the vegetable diet to predominate. The supply of meat from distant countries, especially South America and Australia, will be exhausted in a few decades. On the other hand, animals are raised not only for their flesh, but also for wool, hair, bristles, hides, milk, eggs, etc. Many industries and a number of human needs depend upon it. Much offal in industry and housekeeping could not be more usefully employed than by cattle raising. In the future the ocean, too, will have to yield to man its wealth of animal food in a larger measure. Then it will not occur that loads of fish will be used as manure, owing to the high cost of transportation, or canning, that prevent their sale, as is frequently the case at present. It is quite probable that the abolition of the extremes between city and country, when work in closed shops will be combined with work in the open fields, will again lead to a preponderance of the vegetable diet. Of course the absence of stimulants in a vegetable diet can be equalized by a proper and rational preparation of the food with the aid of spice. But that future society should live on vegetables exclusively is neither probable nor necessary.

3.—The Communistic Kitchen.

In the matter of nutrition **quality** is far more important than quantity. Much food is not beneficial if the food is not good. But quality may be greatly improved by the manner in which food is prepared. **The preparation of**

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aside. This transformation can be observed in all countries. Even in Japan where a peculiar national diet prevailed until recently, European fare has displaced the old regime. In the Japanese navy the new diet was introduced because it proved to be more beneficial to the men in service. The endeavor to establish this concentrated, rich and tasty fare is a general one." M. Rubner—The Question of Public Nutrition.

food should be conducted as scientifically as any other human activity, in order to be as advantageous as possible. **This requires knowledge and proper equipment.** That our women who are chiefly engaged in the preparation of food do not possess this knowledge and cannot possess it, requires no further proof. The equipment of the large kitchen has already attained a degree of perfection that the best equipped domestic kitchen cannot come up to. The kitchen equipped with electricity for lighting and heating is the ideal one. No more smoke, heat, or disagreeable odors! The kitchen resembles a workshop furnished with all kinds of technical and mechanical appliances that quickly perform the hardest and most disagreeable tasks. Here we see potato and fruit-paring machines, apparatus for removing kernels, meat-choppers, mills for grinding coffee and spice, ice-choppers, corkscrews, bread-cutters, and a hundred other machines and appliances, all run by electricity, that enable a comparatively small number of persons, without excessive labor, to prepare a meal for hundreds of guests. The same is true of the equipments for house-cleaning and for washing the dishes.

To millions of women the private kitchen is an institution that is extravagant in its methods, entailing endless drudgery and waste of time, robbing them of their health and good spirits, and an object of daily worry, especially when the means are scanty, as is the case with most families. The abolition of the private kitchen will come as a liberation to countless women. The private kitchen is as antiquated an institution as the workshop of the small mechanic. Both represent a useless and needless waste of time labor and material.

The nutritive value of food is heightened by its easier assimilation; this is a decisive factor.* Only the new society will be able to provide a rational nutrition for all. Cato sets forth with especial praise that in ancient Rome, up to the sixteenth century of the city (200 B. C.), there were men versed in the art of healing, but that they found little occasion to practice their art. The Romans

*The power of assimilation of food by each individual is the standard. Niemeyer: Hygiene.

led such simple and temperate lives that sickness was rare among them, and most people died from old age. Only when extravagance and idleness, in short, a dissolute life, set in, on the one hand, and poverty and excessive work on the other, matters were completely changed. In the future, extravagance, idleness and dissoluteness will be impossible, but misery, want and privation will be impossible likewise. There is an abundance for all. Heinrich Heine has sung ere now:

Sufficient grain is grown on earth
With bread all beings to provide,
Roses and myrtles, beauty, mirth,
And sugar-peas are there beside.

Yes, sugar-peas for every one!
When want no longer harrows,
Then heaven gladly shall we leave
To angels and to sparrows.*

"He who eats little lives well" (that is, long), said the Italian Cornaro, in the sixteenth century, as quoted by Niemeyer. Finally, chemistry, too, will be active in the future to produce new and improved articles of food. To-day this science is frequently abused to adulterate food; but it is clear that a chemically prepared article of food that has all the qualities of a natural product, serves the same purpose. The manner in which food is obtained is a matter of secondary importance, provided that it answers all requirements.

4.—Transformation of Domestic Life.

As the kitchen, so our entire domestic life will be revolutionized, and countless tasks that must be performed to-day will become superfluous. As the central kitchen will do away with the private kitchen, so central heating and electric lighting plants will do away with all the trouble connected with stoves and lamps. Warm and cold water supply will enable all to enjoy daily baths. Central laundries and drying-rooms will assume the washing and drying of clothes; central cleaning establishments, the cleaning of carpets and clothes. In Chi-

*Heinrich Heine: Germany. A Winter's Tale.

cago carpet-cleaning machines were exhibited that cleaned carpets in an incredibly short time, calling forth the wonder and admiration of the ladies who visited the exposition. The electric door opens at a slight pressure of the finger and shuts off itself. Electric contrivances carry letters and newspapers to every floor of the houses, and electric elevators save one the trouble of climbing stairs. The interior furnishing of the houses, the coverings of walls, floors, furniture, etc., will be so arranged as to make house-cleaning easy and to avoid the gathering of dust and germs. Garbage and all kinds of offal will be carried out of the houses by waste-pipes like the water that has been used. In the United States, and in some European cities, for instance, in Zurich, Berlin and its suburbs, London, Vienna, Munich, we already find wonderfully equipped houses, in which well-to-do families—others could not meet the expense—reside and enjoy a great many of the advantages described above.*

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*Among 2521 dwellings erected in Wilmersdorf during 1908, the following number were equipped with:

Central heating	1001	or 39.71	per cent.
Hot water supply	1373	" 54.46	" "
Electric light	1288	" 51.09	" "
Baths	2063	" 81.83	" "
Elevators	699	" 27.73	" "
Vacuum cleaners	304	" 12.06	" "

All of them were supplied with gas.

In and near Berlin there also are a number of houses furnished with a central kitchen. In this common kitchen the food for all the residents of the house is prepared. Thus bourgeois society contains all the germs of future transformation. "The garden city of the future will not only contain the town hall, the central gas, electric lighting and heating plant, the schools and libraries, but a central kitchen also. It is not impossible that the underground passages, containing the electric cables and heating-pipes, will be expanded, and that through them small automatic wagons will carry the food directly into the residences upon an order by telephone, similar to the underground, electric mail-carriers that have been planned, for transporting the mail from one post-office to another in the large cities. That is much simpler and can be attained much more easily than the solution of the problem of aerial navigation that still seemed utterly utopian a short while ago." E. Lilienthal—The Reform of Domestic Work, "Documents of Progress," 1909.

Here again we have an illustration of how bourgeois society paves the way for the revolutionizing of domestic life, though only for its chosen few. But when domestic life will be generally transformed in the manner we have pointed out, then the domestic servant, this "slave to all whims of the mistress," will disappear. But the "lady of the house" will disappear also. "Without servants, no civilization," Mr. v. Treitschke exclaims, horror-stricken, with an amusing pathos. He can picture society without servants as little as Aristotle could picture it without slaves. It comes as a surprise to us, though, that Mr. v. Treitschke regards our servants as the "standard-bearers of our civilization." Treitschke, like Eugen Richter, is also worried over the shining of shoes and the cleaning of clothes, which people cannot possibly attend to themselves. As a matter of fact, nine-tenths of the people do polish their own shoes and clean their own clothes to-day, or women do it for their husbands, or daughters or sons do it for the family, and we could ansewr that what has been done so far by the nine-tenths might as well be done by the remaining tenth, also. There might be still another way. Why should not, in future, young persons, regardless of sex, be called upon to perform such and similar necsssary tasks? Work is no disgrace, not even when it consists of shining shoes. That has been experienced by many an officer of noble birth who had to make his escape to the United States on account of debts, and there became a porter or a boot-black. In one of his pamphlets, Mr. Eugen Richter even has the shoe-polishing problem cause the downfall of the "Socialist chancellor" and the disruption of the "Socialist state." For the "Socialist chancellor" refuses to polish his own shoes, and that is his great misfortune. Our opponents have enjoyed this description hugely and have thereby only proved that their demands on a criticism of Socialism are exceedingly modest. Mr. Eugen Richter lived to experience the great grief that a member of his own party, in Nuremberg, invented **a shoe-polishing machine**, shortly after the publication of his pamphlet, and that, at the World's Fair, at Chicago, an **electric shoe-polishing machine** was exhibited that performed the task to perfection. So Richter's and

Treitschke's main argument against Socialistic society has been shattered by an invention made within bourgeois society itself.

The revolutionary transformation that is changing all human relations completely, especially the position of women, is being consummated under our very eyes. It is only a question of time when society will take up this transformation on a large scale, will hasten and generalize the process, and will thereby enable all to participate in its countless and multiform advantages.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Woman in the Future.

This chapter may be brief. It merely contains the conclusions that may be drawn in regard to the position of woman in future society, from all that has been said so far; conclusions that every reader can easily draw for himself.

In the new society woman will be entirely independent, both socially and economically. She will not be subjected to even a trace of domination and exploitation, but will be free and man's equal, and mistress of her own lot. Her education will be the same as man's, with the exception of those deviations that are necessitated by the differences of sex and sexual functions. Living under normal conditions of life, she may fully develop and employ her physical and mental faculties. She chooses an occupation suited to her wishes, inclinations and abilities, and works under the same conditions as man. Engaged as a practical working woman in some field of industrial activity, she may, during a second part of the day, be educator, teacher or nurse, during a third she may practice a science or an art, and during a fourth she may perform some administrative function. She studies, works, enjoys pleasures and recreation with other women or with men, as she may choose or as occasions may present themselves.

In the choice of love she is as free and unhampered as

man. She woos or is wooed, and enters into a union prompted by no other considerations but her own feelings. This union is a private agreement, without the interference of a functionary, just as marriage has been a private agreement until far into the middle ages. Here Socialism will create nothing new, it will merely reinstate, on a higher level of civilization and under a different social form, **what generally prevailed before private property dominated society.**

Man shall dispose of his own person, provided that the gratification of his impulses is not harmful or detrimental to others. The satisfaction of the sexual impulse is as much the private concern of each individual, as the satisfaction of any other natural impulse. No one is accountable to any one else, and no third person has a right to interfere. What I eat and drink, how I sleep and dress is my private affair, and my private affair also is my intercourse with a person of the opposite sex. Intelligence and culture, personal independence,—qualities that will become natural, owing to the education and conditions prevailing in the new society,—will prevent persons from committing actions that will prove detrimental to themselves. Men and women of future society will possess far more self-control and a better knowledge of their own natures, than men and women of to-day. The one fact alone, that the foolish prudery and secrecy connected with sexual matters will disappear, will make the relation of the sexes a far more natural and healthful one. If between a man and woman who have entered into a union, incompatibility, disappointment or revulsion should appear, morality commands a dissolution of the union which has become unnatural, and therefore immoral. As all those circumstances will have vanished that have so far compelled a great many women either to chose celibacy or prostitution, men can no longer dominate over women. On the other hand, the completely changed social conditions will have removed the many hindrances and harmful influences that affect married life to-day and frequently prevent its full development or make it quite impossible.

The impediments, contradictions and unnatural features in the present position of woman are being recog-

nized by ever wider circles, and find expression in our modern literature on social questions, as well as in modern fiction; only the form in which it is expressed sometimes fails to answer the purpose. That present day marriage is not suited to its purpose, is no longer denied by any thinking person. So it is not surprising that even such persons favor a free choice of love and a free dissolution of the marriage relation, who are not inclined to draw the resulting conclusions that point to a change of the entire social system. They believe that freedom in sexual intercourse is justifiable among members of the privileged classes only. In a controversy,* in which she opposes the emancipation of women as set forth by the writer, Fanny Lewald, Matilde Reichhardt-Stromberg says the following:

"If you (F. L.), demand complete equality for women in social and political life, **George Sand** must also be justified in her struggles for emancipation, that strove for nothing else but to possess what has long since been man's undisputed possession. **For no good reason is to be found why only woman's head, and not also her heart, shall participate in this equality, why she shall not give and take as freely as man.** On the contrary: if nature gives woman the right, and thereby also the duty,—for we shall not bury a talent bestowed upon us,—to exert her brain to the utmost in competition with the intellectual Titans of the opposite sex, it must also give her the right **to preserve her equilibrium, just as they do, by quickening the circulation of her heart in whatever manner she may see fit.** We all read without being shocked in the least how, for instance, **Goethe,**—to choose the greatest as an example,—again and again wasted the warmth of his heart and the enthusiasm of his great soul upon some other woman. Intelligent people consider this perfectly natural, and only narrow-minded moralists condemn it. Why, then, deride the "great souls" among women? Let us assume that the entire female sex consisted of great souls like George Sand; let us assume that every woman were a Lucretia Florini, whose children are all children of love, but who brings up these children with true motherly love and devotion, as well as in a rational and intelligent manner. How would the world fare?

There is no doubt that the world could continue to exist and develop as to-day, and might even fare exceptionally well."

But why should only "great souls" lay claim to this right, and not also the others who are no great souls? If a Goethe and a George Sand,—to select only these two from among the many who have done and are doing likewise,—could follow the inclinations of their hearts, if on Goethe's love affairs, especially, entire libraries are published that are devoured in a sort of reverend ecstacy by his admirers, why should we condemn in others what becomes an object of admiration in the case of a Goethe, or a George Sand?

Of course, it is impossible to assert the free choice of love in bourgeois society, as we have shown by our entire line of argument, but if the community were placed under similar social conditions as are enjoyed to-day only by the few who are materially and intellectually favored, all would have the possibility of a similar freedom. In "Jacques," George Sand depicts a husband who judges the illicit relation of his wife with another man in the following manner: "no human being can command love, and none is guilty, if he feels or goes without it. What degrades the woman is the lie; what constitutes the adultery is not the hour she grants to her lover, but the night that she thereupon spends with her husband." As a result of this conception, Jacques feels it to be his duty to make way for his rival (Borel), and philosophizes accordingly: "Borel, in my place, would have calmly beaten his wife, and would not have blushed to receive her into his arms afterwards, degraded by his blows and his kisses. There are men who would not hesitate, according to oriental custom, to kill their faithless wife, because they regard her as their lawful property. Others fight a duel with their rival, kill or remove him, and then beg the woman, whom they claim to love, for kisses or caresses, while she either withdraws full of horror or yields in despair. These, in cases of conjugal love, are the most common ways of acting, and it seems

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*"Rights of Women and Duties of Women." A Reply to Fanny Lewald's Epistles: "For and against Women."

to me that the love of hogs is less vile and debasing, than the love of such men." To these sentences, Brandes observes:* These truths, that are elemental ones to **educated** persons to-day, were atrocious sophisms fifty years ago." But the propertied and cultured classes do not venture even to-day, openly to avow the principles of George Sand, altho they actually live in accordance with them. They are hypocrites in marirage, as they are hypocrites in morals and religion.

What was done by Goethe and George Sand, is being done by thousands of others to-day, who cannot bear comparison with Goethe or Sand, without suffering a loss of social esteem. Everything can be done if people hold a respected position. Nevertheless the liberties of a Goethe and a George Sand are immoral from the standpoint of bourgeois morality, for they are in opposition to the moral laws laid down by society, and are in contradiction to the nature of our social system. Compulsory marriage is the normal marriage to bourgeois society. It is the only "moral" union of the sexes; any other sexual union is "immoral." Bourgeois marriage is,—this we have irrefutibly proved,—the result of bourgeois relations. Closely connected with private property and the right of inheritance, it is contracted to obtain "legitimate" children. Under the pressure of social conditions it is forced also upon those who have nothing to bequeath. It becomes a social law, the violation of which is punished by the state, by imprisonment of the men or women who have committed adultery and have become divorced.

But in Socialistic society there will be nothing to bequeath, unless house furnishings and personal belongings should be regarded as hereditary portions; so the modern form of marriage becomes untenable from this point of view also. This also settles the question of inheritance, which Socialism will not need to abolish. Where there is no private property, there can be no right of inheritance. So woman will be **free**, and the children she may have will not impair her freedom, they will only increase her pleasure in life. Nurses, teachers, women friends, the

*George Brandes: The literature of the Nineteenth Century. Leipsic, 1883.

rising female generation, all these will stand by her when she is in need of assistance.

It is possible that there will be some men, even in the future, who will say, like A. Humboldt: "I am not built to become the father of a family. Moreover, I consider marriage a sin, the begetting of children a crime." What does it matter? The force of the natural impulse will establish the equilibrium with others. We are not alarmed either by Humboldt's hostility to marriage, or by the philosophic pessimism of Schoppenhauer, Mainlander or v. Hartmann, who hold out to man the prospect of self-destruction in the "ideal state." We are fully agreed with Dr. Ratzel, who writes on this subject:

Man should no longer regard himself an exception to natural laws. He should finally strive to recognize the laws underlying his own thoughts and actions, and should endeavor to live in accordance with these laws. He will eventually learn to arrange his life with his fellow-beings, that is, the family and the state, not according to the precepts laid down in centuries gone by, but according to the rational principles derived from an understanding of nature. Politics, morals, laws, that are at present drawn from various sources, will be shaped according to natural laws. An existence worthy of human beings, that mankind has been dreaming of for thousands of years, will become a reality at last.*

This time is rapidly approaching. For thousands of years human society has passed thru all phases of development, only to return to its starting point: communistic property and complete liberty and fraternity; but no longer only for the members of the gens, **but for all human beings.** That is what the great progress consists of. What bourgeois society has striven for in vain, in what it failed and was bound to fail,—to establish liberty, equality and fraternity for all,—will be realized by Socialism. Bourgeois society could merely advance the theory, but here, as in many other things, practice was contrary to the theories. Socialism will unite theory and practice.

But as mankind returns to the starting point of its

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*Quoted by Ernst Haeckel in his "Natural Story of Creation."

development, it will do so on an infinitely higher level of civilization. If primitive society had common ownership in the gens and the clan, it was but in a coarse form and an undeveloped stage. The course of development that man has since undergone, has reduced common property to small and insignificant remnants, has shattered the gens and has finally atomized society; but in its various phases it has also greatly heightened the productive forces of society and the extensiveness of its demands; it has transformed the gentes and the tribes into nations, and has thereby again created a condition that is in glaring contradiction to the requirements of society. It is the task of the future to remove this contradiction by re-establishing the common ownership of property and the means of production on the broadest basis.

Society takes back what it has at one time possessed and has itself created, but it enables all to live in accordance with the newly created conditions of life on **the highest level of civilization.** In other words, **it grants to all what under more primitive conditions has been the privilege of single individuals or classes.** Now **woman,** too, is restored to the active position maintained by her in primitive society; only she no longer is mistress, but man's equal.

"The end of the development of the state resembles the beginnings of human existence. Primitive equality is reinstated. The maternal material existence opens and closes the cycle of human affairs." Thus Backofen, in his book on The Matriarchate; and Morgan says: "Since the advent of civilization, the increase of wealth has been so enormous, its forms so varied, its application so extensive, **and its administration so skillful in the interest of the owners, that this wealth has become an invincible power against the people.** The human mind is helpless and bewildered in the face of its own creation. And yet the time will come, when human intelligence will be sufficiently strong to master wealth, when it will determine both the relation of the state to the property that it protects, and the limit of the rights of individual owners. The **interests of society are absolutely paramount to individual interests, and both must be placed into a just and harmonious relation.** Pursuit of wealth is not the ultimate

aim of man, if progress is to remain the law of the future as it has been the law of the past. The time that has elapsed since the advent of civilization is only a small fraction of the past existence of humanity; it is only a small fraction of its coming existence. **We are threatened by the dissolution of society as the termination of a historic career, whose sole aim is wealth; for a career of this sort contains the elements of its own destruction. Democracy in administration, fraternity in social relations, general education,—these will initiate the next, higher stage of society, toward which experience, reason and science are constantly leading us. It will be a resurrection, only in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the old gens.***

So men, proceeding from the most varied standpoints, arrive at the same conclusions, as a result of their scientific investigations. The complete emancipation of woman, and her establishment of equal rights with man is one of the aims of our cultured development, whose realization no power on earth can prevent. But it can be accomplished only by means of a transformation that will abolish the rule of man over man, including the rule of the capitalist over the laborer. Then only can humanity attain its fullest development. The "golden age" of which men have been dreaming, and for which they have been yearning for thousands of years, will come at last. **Class rule will forever be at an end, and with it the rule of man over woman.**

CHAPTER XXIX.

INTERNATIONALITY.

But an existence worthy of human beings cannot be the manner of living of a single privileged nation, for, being isolated from all other nations, it could neither establish nor maintain this condition. Our entire development is the product of the combined action of national

*Morgan: Ancient History.

and international forces and relations. Altho the national ideal still dominates the minds to a great extent and is used as a means for maintaining political and social rulership,—for this is possible only within national bounds,—we are already deeply imbued with internationalism.

Treaties of commerce, tariff and navigation, the world postal union, international expositions, congresses on international law and international measurements of degrees, other international scientific congresses and associations, international expeditions of exploration, commerce and trade, and especially the international conventions of workingmen, who are the heralds of the new era, and to whose influence it is due that, during the spring of 1890, upon an invitation from the German Empire, the first international conference on workingmen's protective legislation was held in Berlin,—all this proves the international character that the relations of civilized nations have assumed, notwithstanding their national seclusion. Beside speaking of national economy, we speak of **international economy**, and consider the latter more important, because the welfare of the different nations depends upon it to a great extent. A great many of our domestic products are exchanged for foreign products, that we can no longer dispense with. As one branch of industry suffers when another flags, so the entire national production of a given country is very materially injured by a crisis in another country. The relations of the different countries to one another are constantly becoming more cordial, regardless of the passing disturbances, like wars and the instigations of national hatred, because these relations are dominated by material interests, the strongest of all. Every new highway, every improvement in the means of transportation, every invention or improvement in the process of production which leads to a cheapening of commodities, strengthens these relations. The ease with which personal relations are established between widely separated countries and nations, is a new, important link in the chain of connections. Emigration and colonization are other powerful levers. Nations learn from one another and strive to excel each other. Beside the exchange of all kinds of material products, an exchange of intellectual products takes place, both in their

original forms of expression and in translations. To millions of people it becomes a necessity to learn foreign languages, and beside material advantages, nothing is more likely to remove prejudice and to arouse sympathy, than an acquaintance with the language and intellectual products of a foreign nation.

The effect of this process of approach on an international scale is **an increasing resemblance in the social conditions of the various nations**. With the most advanced civilized nations, that may therefore be regarded as the standard, this resemblance is so great, that whoever knows the economic structure of one nation, practically knows it of all. It is as in nature, where animals belonging to the same species have skeletons that are identical in organization and structure, and if a scientist is given some parts of such skeleton he can theoretically reconstruct the entire animal.

A further conclusion is that, wherever similar social conditions exist, the results springing from them must be similar. Accumulation of great wealth points to the opposite extreme of wage-slavery, oppression of the masses by the system of production, rule of the masses by the propertied minority, and all the resulting evils.

As a matter of fact, we see that the class antagonism and class struggle, which is raging in Germany, is stirring all of Europe, the United States of America and Australia. In Europe we meet with a spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction from Russia to Portugal, from the Balkans, Hungary and Italy to England and Ireland. Everywhere we perceive the same symptoms of social fermentation, general dissatisfaction and decomposition. Altho these movements differ outwardly, according to the degree of development and the character of the population, they all are identical in character. Profound social antagonism is the underlying cause. With each year this antagonism is growing more pronounced, the fermentation and dissatisfaction pervades the body social more and more, until perhaps some slight provocation will cause an outbreak that will spread with the rapidity of lightning over the entire civilized world, and will everywhere arouse men to side with one or the other party in the great conflict. It will be the struggle of the new

world against the old. Masses will enter the arena, and the struggle will be conducted with an amount of intelligence such as the world has never seen in any previous struggle, such as it will never see again; **for it will be the last social struggle.** Standing at the beginning of the twentieth century, we can see this struggle approaching its last stages in which the new ideas will be victorious.

The new society will construct itself upon an international basis. The nations will fraternize, they will join hands, and will endeavor to extend the new conditions to all nations of the world.* One nation will no longer approach another as an enemy, to exploit and to oppress it, or as the upholder of a foreign religion that it seeks to force upon it, but as a friend, endeavoring to make civilized beings of all men. The tasks of colonization and civilization of the new society will differ as radically from those of the present in their very nature, and in the means employed by them, as the two social orders differ from one another. Neither powder and lead nor "fire-water" and the Bible will employed. The mission of civilization will be undertaken by peaceable means, that will make the civilizers appear to barbarians and savages not as enemies, but as **benefactors.** Reasonable voyagers and explorers have long since experienced how successful these methods are.

When the civilized nations are united in a mighty federation, then the time will have come when the trumpets of war shall be silenced forever. Eternal peace will then no longer be a dream, as uniformed gentlemen would have the world believe. This time will arrive as soon as the nations will have recognized their true interests. These interests are not advanced by quarrels and conflicts, by warlike preparations that destroy countries and nations, but by peaceable agreements and common works of civilization. Moreover, the ruling classes and their governments see to it,—as has been previously set forth,—that armaments and wars come to an end by means of their own enormity. So the last weapons, like

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*"At present national interests and human interests are hostile to each other. On a higher level of civilization both interests will become identical."—v. Thuenen.—The Isolated State.

so many that have preceded them, will be gathered into old curiosity collections to prove to coming generations how men, for thousands of years, often lacerated one another like wild beasts of the jungle—until man finally triumphed over the wild beast within him.

That national characteristics and differences lead to wars,—these characteristics and differences being artificially stimulated by the ruling classes, so that a great war may, in case of necessity, counteract dangerous tendencies in the interior,—is confirmed by an utterance of the late General Fieldmarshal **Moltke**. In the first volume of his posthumous work that deals with the German-French War of 1870-71, he says, among other things, in the introductory remarks: "**So long as nations lead a separate existence, there will be differences that can only be settled by force of arms. But it is to be hoped that the wars may become rare as they have become more terrible.**"

This national separation, that is, this hostile exclusion of one nation from another, is passing away in spite of all endeavors to maintain it, and so coming generations will find it an easy matter to carry out tasks, that gifted minds have long since planned and have attempted to accomplish, but unsuccessfully. Condorcet already conceived the idea of introducing a universal language. The late ex-president of the United States, Ulysses S. Grant, said in an address: "Since commerce, education, and the quick transportation of thoughts and objects by telegraph and steam have transformed everything, I believe that God is preparing the world to become **one** nation, to speak **one** language, and to attain a degree of perfection **in which armies and navies will be superfluous.**" With a full-blooded Yankee, God must, of course, be the adjuster, instead of recognizing that matters are being adjusted in consequence of historic evolution. That is not to be wondered at. Ignorance or hypocrisy in religious matters are nowhere greater than in the United States. The less the power of the state guides the masses by its organization, the more must it be done by religion, by the church. Therefore the bourgeoisie appears most pious wherever the power of the state is weakest. Beside the U. S., this is the case in England, Belgium and

Switzerland. Even the revolutionary Robespierre, who played with the heads of aristocrats and priests as with bowling balls, was, as is well known, exceedingly religious. Therefore he had the "supreme being" solemnly reinstated after its recent dethronement by the convention,—an action of equally bad taste. Since before the great revolution the frivolous and dissolute aristocrats bragged about their atheism, Robespierre regarded it as being aristocratic, and thus denounced it before the convention in his speech on the "supreme being:" "Atheism is aristocratic. The idea of a supreme being that watches over the innocent oppressed and punishes triumphant crime, has sprung from the midst of the people. If there were no God it would be necessary to invent one." Virtuous Robespierre divined that his virtuous bourgeois republic could not remove social extremes. Therefore he preached belief in a supreme being, avenging wrong and equalizing what men could not yet equalize; therefore this belief was a necessity to the first republic.

Times change. One progress leads to another. Mankind will set ever new tasks for itself, and will lead them to a degree of development in which national or religious hatred and wars will no longer be known.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Question of Population and Socialism.

1.—Fear of Over-Population.

There are people who regard the question of population as one of the most important and urgent of all, because, they claim that we are threatened with over-population, indeed, that it is already at hand. Therefore this question must be specially treated from an international standpoint, for nourishment and distribution of the population have become more and more a matter of international concern. There has been much discussion on the law governing the growth of population since Malthus. In his famous and notorious book, an "Essay on the Principle of Population," that Karl Marx has described as a

"school-boyish, superficial plagiarism on Sir James Stewart, Townsend, Franklin Wallace, etc., declaimed in a priest-like manner and not containing a single original thought,"—Malthus propounds the theory that mankind has the tendency to increase at the ratio of geometrical progression (1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, etc.), while food increases only at the ratio of arithmetical progression (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc.). The consequence, he asserts, is that a disproportion arises between the number of human beings and the food supply which must lead to wholesale starvation, and that, therefore, it becomes necessary to impose abstinence upon one's self in the procreation of children. He, who has not sufficient means to support a family should not marry, as there would not be sufficient room at "nature's table" for his descendants.

The fear of over-population is a very old one. As we have shown in this book, it existed among the Greeks and Romans and was met with again at the close of the middle ages. Plato and Aristotle, the Romans, the small bourgeois of the middle ages, they all were dominated by this fear. It also occupied Voltaire, who wrote a treatise on this subject at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Other writers followed him, until Malthus finally gave this fear the most poignant expression.

The fear of over-population is always met with at periods when existing social conditions are in a state of decay. The general dissatisfaction that prevails at such times is ascribed to the superabundance of human beings and the lack of food, instead of being ascribed to the manner in which food is obtained and distributed.

Every exploitation of man by man is founded on class rule. The first, and principle means of establishing class rule is to take possession of the soil. Common property at first, it gradually becomes private property. The masses become propertyless and are obliged to earn their share of food by serving the propertied class. Under such circumstances, every addition to the family, or new competitor, becomes a burden. The specter of over-population appears, and spreads terror in the same measure in which the soil becomes monopolized and loses its productivity, either because it is not sufficiently cultivated, or because the best ground is turned into pastures, or be-

cause it has been reserved for the pleasures of the hunt of its masters, and thus withdrawn from cultivation for human food. Rome and Italy suffered from the greatest lack of food at the time when the land was owned by about three thousand latifundia proprietors. Hence the cry of fear: the latifundia are destroying Rome! The Italian soil was converted into immense hunting grounds or parks for the pleasure of its noble owners. Sometimes it was also left uncultivated, because its cultivation by slaves was more expensive than to import grain from Sicily and Africa; this state of affairs favored the usury in grain, in which the rich nobility of Rome likewise participated. The nobility profited more by the usury in grain than by cultivating grain in their own country.

Under such conditions the Roman bourgeois, or the pauperized nobleman, preferred to refrain from marriage and the procreation of children. The premiums placed on marriage and the birth of children, to prevent a diminution of the ruling classes, remained ineffectual.

A similar phenomenon occurred at the close of the middle ages, after the nobility and the clergy had, for centuries, by force and by stealth, robbed many peasants of their property and usurped the common land. When the peasants revolted as a result of all the abuses they had suffered, but were beaten down, the robbery of the nobility was continued on a still larger scale, and the reformed princes also practiced it on the property of the church. At that time the number of thieves, beggars and vagabonds increased as never before. Their number was greatest after the reformation. The expropriated rural population poured into the cities; but here, too, the conditions of life had been growing steadily worse, owing to causes that have been set forth in previous chapters, and so "over-population" prevailed everywhere.

The appearance of Malthus coincides with that period of English industry when, as a result of the new inventions by Hargreaves, Arkwright and Watt, tremendous mechanical and technical changes took place. These changes especially effected the cotton and linen industries, and deprived tens of thousands of workingmen of employment, who were engaged in these domestic industries. The concentration of property in land, and the

development of industry on a large scale, assumed great dimensions in England at that time. With the rapid increase of wealth on the one hand, there was growing misery of the masses on the other. During such a time the ruling classes, who have good cause to consider the world, as it is, the best of worlds, had to seek a plausible explanation, relieving them of all responsibility, for so contradictory a phenomenon as the pauperization of the masses in the midst of increasing wealth and flourishing industry. Nothing was more convenient than to blame the too rapid increase of the workingmen by their having too many children for this state of affairs, instead of blaming the fact that they were being made superfluous by the process of production, and the further fact that the soil was becoming accumulated in the hands of the landlords. Under such conditions the "school-boyish, superficial plagiarism declaimed in a priest-like manner" which Malthus published, contained an explanation of existing evils that expressed the innermost thoughts and wishes of the ruling classes, and justified them before the world. That explains why it met with so much success on the one hand, and with such bitter opposition on the other. For the English bourgoisie Malthus **had spoken the right word at the right time, and so—altho his book did "not contain a single original thought," he became a great and famous man, and his name came to stand for the entire doctrine!**

2.—Production of Over-Population.

The conditions that caused Malthus to utter his cry of warning and to set forth his brutal doctrines,—they were addressed to the working class, which meant adding insult to injury,—have since expanded with every decade. They have expanded, not only in the native land of Malthus, Great Britain, but in all countries of the world that have a capitalistic method of production, which implies robbery of the soil and subjugation of the masses by means of the machine and the factory. This system,—as

*That Darwin and others also become followers of Malthus only proves that a lack of economic studies leads to the most biased views in the realm of science.

has been shown,—consists in the separation of the worker from his means of production, be it the land or tools, and their transfer into the hands of the capitalists. This system constantly creates new branches of industry, develoopes and concentrates them, but it also constantly turns out into the street new masses of the population and makes them "superfluous." In many cases it also promotes, as in ancient Rome, the latifundia ownership with all its results. Ireland is the classic land of Europe that has been afflicted worst of all by the English system of robbery. As early as 1874 it already had an area of meadow and pasture land of 12,378,244 acres, but only 3,373,508 acres of cultivated fields, and every year the population decreases, and hand in hand with this decrease proceeds the further conversion of cultivated land into meadows and pastures for sheep and cattle and into hunting grounds for the landlords.* (In 1908 there were 14,805,046 acres of meadow and pasture land and only 2,238,906 acres of cultivated land.) Moreover, the agricultural land of Ireland is, to a great extent, rented by small tenants, who are unable to improve upon the cultivation of the soil. So Ireland presents the aspect of a country that is retrogressing from an agricultural to a pastoral country. At the same time the population that numbered 8 millions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, has declined to 4.3 millions, and a few million still are "superfluous." This clearly explains the rebellion of the Irish against England. Scotland presents a similar picture in regard to the ownership and cultivation of

*In his pathetic poem, "Ireland," Ferdinand Freiligrath sings:

The lord provides that stag and ox
For him the peasant's toil may feed,
Instead of draining pools and bogs—
Ireland's swamps, well known indeed!
Unused he leaves and useless quite
The soil that wealth of crops might bear,
There but the wild duck wings its flight
And guinea-hens are nesting there.
Aye, by the curse of God, a marsh
And wilderness, four million acres wide!

its land.* The same thing is re-enacted in Hungary, which entered upon modern lines of development only a few decades ago. Few European countries possess such a wealth of fertile soil as Hungary, and yet it is burdened with debts and the population is pauperized and is at the mercy of usurers. Despair drives the people to wholesale emigration. The land is concentrated in the hands of modern magnates of capital, who apply their rapacious system to the forests and the fields. It is likely that in a time not far distant, Hungary will cease to be a grain exporting country. Italy presents a similar picture. In Italy, as in Germany, political unity of the nation has favored capitalistic development, but the industrious peasants of Piedmont and Lombardy, of Tuscany, Romagna and Sicily, are constantly growing poorer and are being utterly ruined. Already swamps and marshes begin to reappear, where, up to a few decades ago, were the well cultivated fields and gardens of small peasants. Before the very gates of Rome, in the district known as the Campagna, are hundreds of thousands of hectares of land that are left uncultivated, in a vicinity that was one of the most flourishing of ancient Rome. Everywhere are swamps exhaling their poisonous miasms. If the necessary means were employed to drain the swamps and to introduce a proper system of irrigation, the population of Rome would obtain a rich source of nourishment and enjoyment. But Italy suffers from the ambition to be-

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* "Two million acres, comprising the most fertile parts of Scotland, entirely laid waste! The natural grass of Glen Tilt was among the most nourishing of the County of Perth. The Deer Forest of Ben Aulder was the best grazing ground in the wide district of Badenoch; a portion of the Black Mountain Forest was the best pasture for black-faced sheep. An idea may be gained of the extent of the land laid waste for the pleasure of the chase, from the fact that it is larger than the entire County of Perth. The great loss entailed by this forcible destruction of the sources of production may be ascertained by calling to mind that the soil of the Deer Forest of Ben Aulder could pasture 15,000 sheep, and that, moreover, this deer forest is *but one thirtieth of the entire hunting ground of Scotland.* All this hunting ground is entirely unproductive. It might as well have been caused to sink into the North-Sea." The London "Economist," July 2, 1866. Quoted by Karl Marx in "Capital."

come a great power; so it ruins the population by bad administration, military and naval armament and colonization, and has no means left for true tasks of civilization, such as the cultivation of the Campagna. In southern Italy and Sicily conditions are similar as in the Campagna. Sicily, at one time the granary of Rome, is ever growing poorer. In all Europe there is no poorer, more exploited and worse treated population. The sons of the most beautiful country of Europe, flood half of Europe and America, and because their needs are few they serve to lower wages. They emigrate in masses, because they do not wish to starve on their native soil, which they no longer own. Malaria, that awful fever, has spread to such an extent thruout Italy, that in 1882 the government became alarmed and instituted an investigation. This investigation revealed that of the 96 provinces of the country, 32 were already severely affiicted, 32 others were infected and only 5 remained free from the disease. Formerly known in the country only, the disease was carried into the cities, where the congested proletarian population, increased by the rural proletariat, formed the central seat of the infection.

3.—Poverty and Fecundity.

No matter from what side we view the capitalistic system of production, we arrive at the conclusion that the poverty and misery of the masses is not due to a lack of food, but to an unequal distribution of same, and to wrong methods, that create an abundance for some and compel others to live in want. The assertions of Malthus have sense only from the standpoint of capitalistic production. On the other hand, the capitalistic method of production urges the production of children. Cheap "hands," in the shape of children, are needed for its factories and work-shops. Among proletarians the procreation of children becomes a sort of calculation, as they earn their own living. The proletarian employed in domestic industry is even obliged to have many children, for they help him to be able to compete. This is assuredly an abominable system; it increases the pauperization of the workingman and his dependence upon the em-

ployer. The proletarian is compelled to work for lower and lower wages, and every labor law destined to protect workingmen, that does not include the persons engaged in domestic industry, only causes the employer to widen the circle of those so employed, for wherever this form of production is possible, it offers particular advantages to the capitalist.

But the capitalistic system does not lead only to an over-production of goods and of workers, but also to an over-production of intellect. Intellectuals, too, find it increasingly difficult to obtain employment, as the supply constantly surpasses the demand. There is only one thing in this capitalistic world that is never superfluous, and that is capital and its owner, the capitalist.

If the bourgeois economists are followers of Malthus, they are what they must be in accordance with their bourgeois interests. Only they should refrain from transferring their bourgeois prejudices to Socialistic society. John Stuart Mill says: "Communism is that very state of affairs of which one may expect, that it will vehemently oppose this sort of selfish immoderation. Every increase of the population that would diminish the comfortable status of the population or increase its toils, would cause direct and unmistakable inconvenience to each individual member of the association, and this inconvenience could no longer be ascribed to the rapacity of the employers or the unfair privileges of the rich. Under such circumstances, public opinion could not fail to make known its disproval, and if this would not suffice, punishments of one kind or another would be resorted to, in order to suppress this and similar immoderations. The danger of over-population, then, is not advanced by the communistic theory; this theory, on the contrary, tends to counteract this danger in a marked degree." Professor Adolf Wagner says, in Rau's "Text-book of Political Economy:" "Least of all could a Socialistic community grant absolute freedom of marriage or freedom in the procreation of children." The authors both proceed from the opinion that the tendency toward over-population is common to all social systems, but they both grant that Socialism will be better able to maintain an equilibrium

between population and nourishment than any other form of society. The latter is true, but the former is not.

There were, indeed, some Socialists who were infected by the ideas of Malthus, and feared that over-population was "an imminent danger." But these Socialistic Malthusians have disappeared. A better understanding of the nature of bourgeois society has changed their opinion on this subject. The complaints of our agrarians also teach us that we have too much food—viewed from the standpoint of the world market—and that the resulting lowering of prices make the production of food unprofitable.

Our Malthusians imagine,—and the chorus of bourgeois leaders thoughtlessly echo their fears,—that a Socialistic society upholding freedom of choice in love and maintaining an existence worthy of human beings for all its members, would foster rabbit-like propensities. They imagine that people, under such conditions, would indulge in an unbridled satisfaction of their lusts and in unlimited procreation of children. Rather the contrary is likely to be true. So far not the well-to-do classes have had the greatest number of children, but, on the contrary, the poorest classes. Indeed, we may say without exaggeration: **the poorer the position of a proletarian stratum is, the more numerous is its blessing of children**; occasional exceptions are, of course, conceded. This opinion is confirmed by Virchow, who wrote, in the middle of the last century; "as the English laborer in his deepest degradation, in the utmost emptiness of mind, knows only two sources of enjoyment, intoxication and cohabitation, so the population of Upper Silesia, until recent years, had concentrated all its desires and endeavors upon these two things. The enjoyment of liquor and the satisfaction of the sexual impulse had become the supreme factors of its existence, and so it can be easily explained that the population increased as rapidly in numbers, as it deteriorated physically and morally."

Karl Marx expresses himself similarly in "Capital." He says: "Not only the number of births and deaths, but the absolute size of the families also is in reverse ratio to the height of the wages, that is, to the means of subsistence at the disposal of the various categories of laborers. **This law of capitalistic society would sound absurd**

among savages or even among civilized colonists. It reminds one of the enormous reproduction of species of animals that are individually weak and much hunted." Marx furthermore quotes Laing, who says: "If the whole world lived in comfortable circumstances, the world would soon be depopulated." So Laing holds the opposite view from Malthus. He maintains that an improved standard of living does not increase the number of births, but diminishes them. Herbert Spencer expresses a similar opinion thus: "always and everywhere perfection of the species and its procreative ability are opposed to one another. From this follows that the further development of man will probably lead to a decrease in procreation." We see, then, that men, maintaining different standpoints on other subjects, are fully agreed on this one, and we fully concur with their conception.

Lack of Human Beings and Abundance of Food.

The whole question of population might be disposed of by saying, that for a long time to come this fear of over-population is absurd, for we are confronted with an abundance of food that increases each year, so that we would be more justified in worrying over how to apply this wealth, than in worrying over whether it will suffice. The producers of food would even welcome a more rapid increase of consumers. But our Malthusians are indefatigable in raising objections, and so we must meet these objections, lest they assert that they cannot be answered. They claim that the danger of over-production in a not distant future lies in the "decrease of the productivity of the soil." Our cultivated soil, they claim, is becoming "weary of yields," an increase in crops could no longer be expected, and since fresh soil that still might be cultivated is becoming rarer, the danger of a scarcity of food, if the population continues to increase, is imminent. In the chapters on agriculture we have, so we believe, already proved irrefutably of what enormous progress mankind is still capable in the matter of obtaining new masses of nourishment, judging even by the present state of agricultural science. Nevertheless we will add some further illustrations. A very capable large land-owner

and an economist of recognized worth, who, therefore, far surpassed Malthus in both respects, as early as 1850, at a time when agricultural chemistry was in its beginnings, —expressed the following: "The productivity of raw products, **especially of food**, will in future not lag behind the productivity in manufacture and transportation. In our days agricultural chemistry is just beginning to open up vistas to agriculture that may lead to some errors, but that will ultimately place the production of food into the power of society, just as society has the power to-day of furnishing any desired quantity of cloth, provided that there is a sufficient supply of work.*

Justus v. Liebig, the founder of agricultural chemistry, holds the opinion that "if there is sufficient human labor power and sufficient manure, the soil is inexhaustible and continually yields the richest crops."

The "law of decrease of the productivity of the soil" is a notion of Malthus that could be accepted at a time when agriculture was very undeveloped, but it has long since been refuted by science and experience. **The yield of a field is in direct ratio to the amount of human labor power (including science and technic) expended on it, and to the amount of proper fertilizers applied to it.** If the small peasantry of France have been able to more than quadruple the yields of their soil during the last 90 years, while the population has not even doubled, what results may be expected from a Socialistic society! Our Malthusians overlook, furthermore, that under present day conditions not only our own soil must be taken into consideration, but the soil of the entire earth, including countries whose fertility is twenty and thirty times as great as that of our fields of the same size. The earth is largely occupied by man, but with the exception of a very small fraction, it is nowhere cultivated and utilized as it might be. Not only Great Britain could produce far more food than it is producing at present, but also France, Germany and Austria, and the other European countries might do so to a still greater extent. In little Wurtemberg alone, with its 879,970 hectares of grain soil, by application of the steam plough, the average crop might be

*Rodbertus: "An Elucidation of the Social Question."

increased from 6,140,000 cwts. to 9,000,000 cwt. European Russia, measured by the present standard of the population of Germany, might feed a population of 475 million instead of its present 100 million. At present European Russia has about 19.4 inhabitants to the square kilometer; Saxony has over 300. The objection that Russia has vast stretches of land that cannot be rendered more fertile owing to their climate, is true. But it is equally true that other stretches of land in the southern part of Russia have a climate and a fertility that Germany cannot come up to. Moreover, the greater density of the population, and the increased cultivation of the soil, will cause changes in the climate that cannot be estimated to-day. Wherever men aggregate in masses climatic changes result. We do not pay sufficient attention to these phenomena. Moreover, we cannot observe them to their full extent, because we have no occasion to do so and because, as matters are at present, it is impossible to undertake experiments on a large scale. Thus Sweden and Norway, who are both sparsely populated, with their immense forests and inexhaustible wealth of metals, their numerous streams and their sea-coasts, might become a rich source of nourishment to a dense population. Under existing conditons it is impossible to obtain the proper means and appliances to disclose the wealth of these countries, and so even a part of the sparse population emigrates.

What has been said of the north, aplies to a still greater extent to the south of Europe, to Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, the Danubian Provinces, Hungary, Turkey, etc.. A delightful climate, a soil so rich and fertile as it can hardly be found in the best regions of the United States, will some day provide an abundance of food for unnumbered masses of the population. The rotten social and political conditions of these countries cause hundreds of thousands of persons to leave Europe and cross the ocean instead of remaining in their native lands or settling down in much nearer and more conveniently located places. As soon as rational social and political institutions have been established, fresh millions of people will be needed to place those wide and fertile countries on a higher level of civilization.

In order to achieve higher objects of civilization in Europe, we have, for a long time to come, not a superabundance of human beings, but rather a dearth of same, and under such circumstances it is absurd to entertain any fears in regard to over-population.* At the same time we must always keep in mind that the utilization of existing sources of nourishment by the application of science and labor is practically unlimited, and that every day brings us new discoveries and inventions whereby the sources of nourishment are increased.

If we turn from Europe to other parts of the earth, we find that **the lack of human beings and the abundance of food is still more pronounced.** The richest and most fertile lands of the earth still lie entirely, or almost entirely, unused, because their cultivation and utilization cannot be undertaken by a few thousand persons; **here colonies of many millions would be needed only partly to master the over-abundant nature.** Such countries are, among others, Central and South America, an area of hundreds of thousands of square miles. In Argentine Republic, for instance, only about 5 million hestares were cultivated in 1892, but the country has 96 million hectares of fertile soil at its disposal. That soil of South America that is fit for the cultivation of wheat, but still lies fallow, is estimated at 200 million hectares at least, while the United States, Austria, Hungary, Great Britain and Ireland, Germany and France altogether have cultivated only about 105 million hectares for the raising of grain. About 40 years ago, Carey asserted that the valley of the Orinoco alone, having a length of 360 miles, might produce sufficient nourishment **to feed the entire human race.** If we accept but half of this statement, an abundance still remains. At any rate, both Americas alone, could feed many times the number of persons living on the earth at present. The nutritive value of a territory

*This is especally true of Germany also. Notwithstanding the steadv increase of the population, emigration has steadily decreased. In 1891, 120,089 persons emigrated; in 1907, only 31,696. On the other hand, immigration has increased, because there was a scarcity of labor power in several branches of industry. In 1900, 757,151 persons immigrated, in 1905, 1,007,149.

planted with banana trees yield 12 to 20 times its seed; rice, in its native soil, yields 80 to 100 times and corn 250 to 300 times its seed. In some regions, for instance in the Philippine Islands, the productivity of rice is estimated at 400 times its seed. Wtih all these articles of food it is, moreover, a matter of importance, to make them as nourishing as possible by the manner in which they are prepared. In matters of nutrition chemistry has an inexhaustible field for development.

Central America and South America, especially Brazil, abound with a luxuriance and fertility that cause the marvel and admiration of travellers. These countries also possess a boundless wealth of ores and metals. Brazil itself is almost as large as all of Europe, having 8,524,000 square miles, with about 22 million inhabitants, as against Europe's 9,887,010 square miles, wtih about 430 million inhabitants. But to the world these countries are barely disclosed, because their population is indolent, too few in numbers and on too low a level of civilization to master the grandeur of nature. The discoveries of recent decades have enlightened us in regard to matters in Africa. Altho a great portion of Central Africa will never be available for European agriculture, there are other territories of a wide range that can be utilized to a marked degree as soon as rational principles of colonization are applied. In Asia, too, there are wide stretches of fertile land that could provide food for countless numbers. The past has shown us how, in regions that are unfertile and almost desert at present, the climate can produce a wealth of nourishment if man will but provide the soil with water. The destruction of grand water-works and contrivances for irrigation in Asia Minor, along the Tigris, Euphrates, etc., by cruel wars of conquest and by insane oppression of the people, have transformed thousands of square miles of fertile land into a desert.* The same is true of northern Asia, Mexico and Peru. Give us millions of civilized human beings and inexhaustible sources

*Kaerger estimates the harvests in Anatolia, even when the crops are poor, at 26.40 to 30 cwt. The average is 26.40 to 39 cwt.; on well fertilized and irrigated soil, 66 cwt. (International Agricultural Competition, a Capitalistic Problem, by Professor Dr. Gustave Ruhland. Berlin, 1901.)

of nourishment will be disclosed. The date palm thrives in Asia and Africa in marvellous abundance, and requires so little room that 200 of these trees can be grown on one acre of land. In Egypt the durria bears fruit three thousand fold, and yet this country is poor. It is poor, not owing to an excessive population, but owing to a system of robbery that causes the desert to widen and expand with each decade. What marvelous results European agriculture and horticulture might obtain in these countries is incalculable.

The United States, measured by the standard of their present agricultural production, could easily maintain a population 15 or 20 times as large as the present one; that is, 1250 to 1700 million, instead of 90 million. At the same rate, Canada could provide food for several hundred millions, instead of for its six millions. Then there is Australia, the numerous and to some extent exceedingly fertile islands of the Pacific and Indian Ocean, etc. In the name of civilization man should be exhorted to **multiply**, not to decrease.

Everywhere it is the social institutions—the existing **methods of production and distribution** of the products—that cause misery and want, **not a too great number** of people. A number of rich crops **in succession** lower the prices of food to such an extent, that many a farmer is ruined thereby. The lot of the producers grows worse instead of being improved. At the present time a great many farmers **regard a good harvest as a misfortune**, because it lowers the prices. And such conditions are supposed to be rational? To keep out the rich crops of other countries, high duties are imposed on grain, to make the importation of grain more difficult and to raise the price of the domestic product. **There is not a lack of food, but a superabundance of food, just as there is a superabundance of the products of industry.** Just as millions of persons are in need of all kinds of industrial products, but cannot satisfy their needs under the existing conditions of property and production, so millions are in need of the most essential articles of food, because they cannot pay for them, altho there is food in abundance. The madness of such conditions is obvious. When the crops are good, our speculators in grain often intentionally allow a part

of it to go to waste and ruin, because they know that the price increases at the same rate at which the supply diminishes. And with all this, we should be in fear of over-population? In Russia, southern Europe and elsewhere, hundreds of thousands of hundredweights of grain are destroyed, because there is a lack of appropriate storehouses and means of transportation. Many million hundred-weights of food are wasted annually, because the provisions for gathering in the crops are imperfect and insufficient, or because there is a lack of hands at the decisive time. Many a granary, many a replenished barn, indeed, entire farms are burned down, because the insurance premiums heighten the profits. Food is destroyed for the same reasons that cause people to sink ships with their entire crews.* Our military drills cause the destruction of large crops each year. The cost of a single manoeuvre, lasting a few days only, amounts to hundreds of thousands of marks, altho the estimates are very moderate, and there are a number of such manoeuvres annually. For the same purpose entire villages have been razed and large areas are withdrawn from agriculture.

We must not forget that to all the sources we have enumerated, the ocean must be added, whose surface is to the area of the earth as 18 to 7. The surface of the water is, accordingly, two and a half times as large as that of the land, and is still awaiting a rational utilization of its enormous wealth of food. The future, then, opens up a vista very different from the sombre picture drawn for us by our Malthusians.

Who can say when our chemical, physical and

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*Even at the time of St. Basil (died 379), similar conditions must have existed, for he calls out to the rich: "wretches, what reply will you make to the divine Judge? You cover the nakedness of your walls with tapestry, but you do not cover with clothes the nakedness of man. You deck your horses with costly, soft blankets, but you despise your brother who is clad in rags. You suffer your grain in the barns and granaries to rot and to be eaten by rats, and do not even cast a glance at those who have no bread."

Moralizing has never yet availed with the ruling classes and never will. Let the social institutions be changed so that no one can act unfairly toward his fellowmen, and the world will be well off.

physiological knowledge will have reached their limit? Who could venture to predict what gigantic undertakings future mankind will carry out to bring about marked changes in the climates of various countries and the utilization of their soil?

Even to-day, under the capitalistic system of society, we see undertakings executed that would have appeared impossible and insane a century ago. Broad isthmuses are cut thru and oceans connected; tunnels, many miles long, connect countries that are separated by the highest mountains; others are dug under the bottom of the sea to shorten distances, and to avoid disturbances and dangers that occur where countries are separated by the sea. Where, then, might one say: "thus far and no further?" Not only must the "law of decrease of the productivity of the soil" be answered in the negative, it must be reasserted that there is an abundance of cultivatable soil, that will require millions of human beings for its cultivation.

If all these tasks of civilization were to be undertaken at the same time, we would not have too many people, but too few. Humanity must still multiply considerably to do justice to all the tasks that are awaiting it. The soil is far from being cultivated as it might be, and **almost three-quarters of the surface of the earth are still uncultivated, because there are not enough people to undertake its cultivation.** The relative excess of population that to-day is continually produced by the capitalistic system to the detriment of the working class and of society, **will prove a blessing on a higher level of civilization.** A numerous population is not a hindrance to progress. It is, on the contrary, a means to advance progress, just like the present over-production of commodities and food, the disruption of marriage by the employment of women, children in industry and the expropriation of the middle class by the large capitalists, are the preliminary conditions of a higher stage of civilization.

5.—Social Conditions and Reproductive Ability.

The other side of the question is: do people multiply indefinitely, and do they wish to? In order to prove the enormous reproductive ability of man, the Malthusians

like to point to the abnormal cases of some families or peoples. But these examples do not prove anything. There are other cases where, regardless of favorable conditions of existence, complete sterility sets in, or the reproductive ability is very slight. It is surprising how quickly wealthy families often die out. Altho the conditions for an increase of the population are more favorable in the United States than in any other country, and hundreds of thousands of persons in the prime of life emigrate into the United States every year, the population doubles only once in thirty years. The claim that populations double once in twelve or twenty years is not born out by the facts anywhere.

As has already been indicated by the quotations from Virchow and Marx, the population multiplies most rapidly where it is **poorest,** because, as Virchow correctly says, beside drink, sexual intercourse forms their only enjoyment. When Gregory VII forced celibacy upon the clergy, the clergy of lower rank of the Diocese of Mayence,—as previously mentioned,—complained that they did not have all kinds of enjoyments like the prelates, but that their **only** joy was woman. Lack of a variety of occupations may also account for it that the marriages of the rural clergy are usually so richly blessed with children. It cannot be disputed, furthermore, that the poorest districts in Germany, the Silesian Eulengebirge, the Lausitz, the Erzgebirge and Fichtelgebirge, the Forest of Thuringia, the Harz, etc.—districts in which the potato constitutes the chief article of food, are at the same time the most densely populated. It is furthermore certain that the sexual impulse is particularly strongly developed with persons afflicted with consumption, and such persons often beget children in a stage of physical decline in which this seems almost impossible.

It is a law of nature, as expressed in the utterances of Herbert Spencer and Laing, which we have quoted, to supply in quantity what is lacking in quality. The most highly developed and strongest animals, lion, elephant, camel, etc., our domestic animals, as horse, donkey, cow bring forth but few young, while animals of a lower order multiply in inverse ratio, as all kinds of insects, most fish, etc., and also the smaller mammals, like rabbits, rats,

mice, etc. Darwin has shown that certain species of animals, for instance the elephant, lose their fecundity when they are captured and tamed by man. All this proves that **altered conditions of existence and the resulting changed mode of life have a decisive influence on reproductiive ability.** ....

Strange to say, the Darwinians share the fear of overpopulation, and our modern Malthusians lean on their authority. The Darwinians seem to be unfortunate as soon as they seek to apply their theories to man, because they employ roughly empirical methods and do not take into consideration that man, altho the most highly developed animal, is distinguished from animals by the fact that he has learned to understand the laws of nature, and may consciously and intelligently apply these laws.

The theory of the struggle for existence, the doctrine that the germs of new life exist in a far greater measure than could be maintained by the existing means of subsistence, would be equally applicable to man, if human beings, instead of exerting their brain and employing technics for the conscious utilization of land and water, would graze like cattle or would yield, like monkeys, to an unbridled satisfaction of their sexual desires, thereby reverting to monkeys. Incidentally, be it noted, that beside human beings, monkeys are the only creatures with whom the sexual impulse is not limited to certain periods. This alone furnishes a striking proof of the close relationship between the two. But, altho closely related, they are not identical. They cannot be placed upon the same level or measured by the same standards.

It is true that so far, owing to the conditions of property and production, the struggle for existence has prevailed, and still prevails, for individual human beings, and that many were unable to obtain the needful means of subsistence. But this was so, not because the means were wanting, but because social conditions withheld the means from them in the midst of plenty. It is a mistake to assume that because conditions have been such until now, they must always and unalterably remain so. This is the point where Darwinians make a great mistake. They study biology and anthropology, but they fail to study sociology, and thoughtlessly become the followers

of bourgeois ideologists. Thus they arrive at false conclusions.

The sexual impulse is perennial in man. It is his strongest impulse, and must be satisfied if his health is not to suffer. As a rule this impulse is strongest with healthy, normally developed human beings, just like a hearty appetite and good digestion are proofs of a healthy stomach and are essential to a healthy body. But satisfaction of the sexual impulse and the procreation of children are not one and the same thing. Many are the theories that have been propounded in regard to the fecundity of man. On the whole, we are still groping in the dark concerning these important questions, mainly because, for centuries, a foolish reticence has prevailed that prevented an investigation of the laws of the origin and development of man and a study of human procreation and evolution. Only gradually will our conception change on this subject, and it is highly important that they should. Some claim that higher mental development and strenuous intellectual activity, in fact all increased nervous activity, has a repressing effect on the sexual impulse and diminishes the productive ability. By others this is denied. People point to the fact that the well-to-do classes generally have fewer children, and that this cannot be ascribed to preventive measures only. It is certain that a strenuous mental activity has a repressing influence on the sexual impulse, but it cannot be claimed that such activity is carried on by a majority of our propertied class. Excessive physical exertion also has a repressing effect, but any kind of excessive exertion is harmful and therefore not to be desired.

Others assert that the mode of life, especially the nourishment, beside certain physical conditions on the part of the woman, have a decisive influence on procreation and conception. The food, they claim, also influences procreation among animals more than any other factor. Here, indeed, the determining factor may be found. The influence of the nature of food on the organisms of certain animals, has been revealed in a surprising manner among bees. By feeding the larvae on special food, they can produce a queen at will. The bees accordingly are further advanced in their recognition of the

development of sex than man. Probably they have not been preached to for thousands of years that it is "indecent" and "immoral" to concern one's self with sexual matters.

It is also known that plants grown in rich and well manured soil thrive luxuriantly, but do not yield seed. It is hardly to be doubted that, with human beings, also the nature of food influences the composition of the male sperm and the fecundity of the female egg, and so it may be that the reproductive power of a population depends largely upon its food. There are other factors besides, whose nature is but slightly known.

In the future one factor will be decisive in regard to the question of population: the higher, freer position of woman. As a rule, intelligent and energetic women are not inclined to regard a number of children as a "God-send," and to spend the best years of their lives in a condition of pregnancy, or with babes at their breasts. Even at present, most women have an aversion against a too numerous progeny, and this aversion is likely to increase rather than decrease, regardless of the care that a Socialistic society will bestow upon pregnant women and mothers. This is the main reason why, in our opinion, the increase of population is likely to progress more slowly in Socialistic society than it does in bourgeois society.

Our Malthusians assuredly have no cause to rack their brains in regard to the increase of population in the future. Until now, nations have been ruined by a diminution of their numbers, but never yet by an excess. In a society, living according to natural laws, the number of the population will ultimately be regulated without harmful abstinence, or unnatural preventive measures. Karl Marx will be vindicated on this subject also. His conception, that every economic period of development has its special law of population, will prove true under the rule of Socialism.

In a book on "The Artificial Limitation of Progeny," H. Ferdy sets forth the following opinion: "The strong opposition of Socialists to Malthusianism is a piece of roguery. The rapid increase of the population favors pauperization of the masses and fosters discontent. If the

over-population could be checked, the spread of Socialism would come to an end, and the Socialist state with all its splendor would be buried forever." Here we behold Malthusianism as a new weapon for combatting Socialism.*

Dr. Adolf Wagner is one of those who are in fear of over-population, and, therefore, favor restriction of the freedom of marriage and freedom of settlement, especially in the case of workingmen. He bewails the fact that workingmen marry too young, as compared with the middle classes. He and others holding the same views, overlook that the male members of the middle class do not attain a position until later in life, that enables them to support a family according to their standard of life. But they seek recompense for this renunciation with prostitution. If marriage is made more difficult for the workingmen also, they will be driven upon the same devious path. But, then, do not let us complain of the results, and cry out at the "decline of ethics and morality." Neither let us grow indignant, then, if men and women,—since the natural impulses reside, in women as in men,—if men and women satisfy their natural impulse in illegitimate relations, and if hosts of illegitimate children populate town and country. But the views of Wagner, and those who agree with him, are also averse to the interests of the bourgeoisie and to the interests of our economic development that requires a large supply of "hands" in order to possess forces that enable competition on the world market. By petty, shortsighted suggestions, born of retrogressive and philistine minds, the

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*The immense ignorance of the Socialist-killer, Ferdy, is most clearly seen from the following sentences, perpetrated on page 40 of his book: "The Socialists will go further in their demands than the Neo-Malthusians. They will demand that the minimum wage be so fixed that every workingman can beget the largest possible number of children according to the social supply of food. As soon as Socialism has drawn its ultimate conclusions and private property has been abolished, even the most stupid would soon begin to question: why should I work longer and harder because my neighbor chooses to thrust a dozen new members into society?"

It would be well to know the A B C of Socialism before venturing to write about it and such utter nonsense as that!

evils of the age cannot be cured. At the dawn of the twentieth century there is no class and no power of the state that is strong enough to retard the natural evolution of society. Every attempt is bound to fail. The current of evolution is so strong that it overcomes every obstacle. Not backward, but "forward," is the word, and he who believes in retarding progress fools himself.

In Socialistic society, when mankind will be placed upon a natural basis, and will be truly free, man will consciously guide his own development. In all preceding epochs, man acted in regard to production and distribution, and in regard to the increase of population, without any knowledge of their underlying laws; he, therefore, acted unconsciously. In the new society man will act consciously and methodically, knowing the laws of his own development.

Socialism is science applied to all realms of human activity.

Conclusion.

We have shown, in the course of our argumentation, that the realization of Socialism does not imply arbitrary destruction and construction, but a process of historical evolution. All factors active in the process of destruction, on the one hand, and in the process of construction on the other, act as they are bound to act. Neither "brilliant statesmen" nor "demagogues who incite the people," can direct matters at their will. They believe that they are pushing, and are being pushed, themselves. But the day of fulfilment is not distant.

In the course of these expositions, we have frequently referred to an over-production of goods that leads to crises, a phenomenon peculiar to bourgeois society, that was not met with at any previous stage of development.

But bourgeois society does not only create an over-production of goods and workers, but also an over-production of intelligence. Germany is the classic land where this over-production of intelligence takes place on a large scale, intelligence that the bourgeois world no longer knows how to employ. A condition that has for centuries been regarded as a misfortune to German development, has been instrumental in producing this phe-

nomenon. It was the great number of small states that impeded the development of capitalism on a large scale. The large number of small states decentralized the intellectual life of the nation by creating many small centers of intellectual life, that exercised their influence upon the whole country. In comparison with a single central government the numerous states required a very large official apparatus, for whose members a higher education was needful. So a larger number of high schools and universities sprang up than in any other European country. The ambition and jealousy of the various governments played an important part in this development. It was the same when some of the governments began to introduce obligatory public education. In these instances the desire not to be excelled by the neighboring state has had a good effect. The demand for intelligence rose when increasing education, hand in hand with the material advance of the bourgeoisie, awoke a desire for political action, for popular representation and self-government. The governmental bodies were small and represented only small countries and districts, but they caused the sons of the upper classes to covet seats in them and to adapt their education accordingly.

As it was with science, so with art. No other country of Europe has, in proportion to its size, so large a number of artists, so many art-schools and technical schools, so many museums and art collections, as Germany. Other countries may have a greater accumulation of art in their capitals, but no other country possesses such a distribution of art thruout its entire realm. Only Italy can vie with it.

This entire development led to a deepening of the German intellect. The absence of great political struggles gave people time and leisure, as it were, to lead a contemplative life. While other nations wrestled for the control of the world market, divided the earth among themselves, and carried on great internal political struggles, the Germans quietly remained at home, dreaming and philosophizing. But this dreaming and philosophizing, favored by a climate that necessitated hard work and a domestic life, gave the Germans that keen, observing intellect that distinguished them after they had awak-

ened. While the English bourgeoisie had won a determining influence over the state as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, and the French bourgeoisie had come into power at the close of the eighteenth century, it was not until 1848 that the German bourgeoisie succeeded in winning a very modest influence over the powers of the state. But the year 1848 was the year of birth of the German bourgeoisie as a self-conscious class, that entered the arena as an independent, political party, represented by "liberalism." Here, too, the peculiar nature of German development manifested itself. The leading men were not manufacturers, merchants, men of commerce and finance, but chiefly professors, writers, jurists and doctors of all academic faculties. They were the German ideologists, and their work was shaped accordingly. After 1848 the bourgeoisie was, for the time being, silenced politically; but they employed the time of political graveyard tranquility during the fifties to promote their task all the more thoroly. The outbreak of the Austro-Italian war, and the beginning of the Regency in Prussia, caused the bourgeoisie again to reach out after political power. The movement for national unity ("Nationalverein") began. The bourgeoisie was too far developed to tolerate any longer the numerous political barriers, that were also economic barriers, between the various states. They threatened to become revolutionary. Bismarck grasped the situation, and made use of it in his way to reconcile the interests of the bourgeoisie with the interests of the Prussian monarchy, toward which the bourgeoisie had never been hostile, as it feared the revolution and the masses. Finally the barriers fell that had prevented its material development. Aided by Germany's wealth in coal and minerals, and by the presence of an intelligent, but easily contented working class, the bourgeoisie, within a few years, attained such a gigantic development, as has not been attained by the bourgeoisie of any other country in an equally short time, with the exception of the United States. Thus Germany quickly came to hold the second place in Europe as an industrial and commercial state, and she is anxious to obtain the first.

But this rapid material development has its dark side also. The system of seclusion that had existed among all German states, until national unity was established, had insured the existence of a very numerous class of small mechanics and farmers. When all protective barriers were suddenly torn down, this class was confronted by the unbridled development of the capitalistic process of production. As a result their position became a desperate one. The period of prosperity at the beginning of the seventies made the danger appear less great at first, but it became all the more noticeable when the crisis set in. The bourgeoisie had utilized the period of prosperity for its fullest development, and by excessive production created a ten-fold pressure. From now on the chasm between the propertied and the non-propertied classes was rapidly and tremendously widened. This process of absorption and decomposition, that is accomplished more and more rapidly, favored by the increase of material power on the one hand, and by a decline of the power of resistance on the other, is intensifying the distress of entire strata of the population. They find their position becoming more and more precarious and their ruin certain.

In this desperate struggle many seek salvation in a change of their profession. The old people cannot accomplish this change any more, and only in rare cases are they able to leave a fortune to their children, so they make desperate efforts and employ their last means to obtain for their sons and daughters positions with a fixed income, that require no capital. These are the civil service positions in the empire, states and municipalities, teaching, positions connected with the postal and railway service, the higher positions in the service of the bourgeoisie in offices, stores and factories as clerks, managers, chemists, technicists, engineers, constructors, etc., and also the so-called liberal professions: jurists, physicians, theologians, writers, artists, architects, teachers, etc.

Thousands upon thousands who would formerly have taken up a trade, now seek professional positions, because there is no longer any possibility of maintaining

an independent and decent livelihood by practicing a trade. All strive for learning and a higher education. High schools, colleges and polytechnical institutes spring up like mushrooms, and the existing ones are over-crowded. In the same measure the number of students at the universities increases, and the number of scholars in physical and chemical laboratories, in art schools, in trade and commerical schools, in the higher institutions of learning for women, etc. All departments, without exception, are over-crowded, and the stream is still rising. New demands are constantly being made for the establishment of colleges and higher institutions of learning, to accommodate the large number of pupils and students. Officials and private persons issue warnings upon warnings, now against the study of one subject and then against the study of another. Even theology, (that formerly threatened to dry out on account of a lack of candidates) now receives its share of blessings from the abundance and finds its positions filled again. "I will preach belief in ten thousand gods and devils, if required, only give me a position that will support me," is the general cry. Sometimes the respective ministers even refuse to give their consent to the establishment of new educational institutions, "because the ones in existence amply supply the demand for candidates in all departments."

This state of affairs is rendered more severe by the fact that the competitive and destructive struggle of the bourgeoisie among themselves, compels many of their sons to seek public positions. Moreover, the steadily growing standing army, with its mass of officers, whose promotion is exceedingly slow during a long period of peace, causes many of them to be pensioned during the best years of their lives, and these, aided by the state, seek employment in all kinds of official positions. The great number of candidates for civil service positions, from lower grades of the army, rob other strata of their living. To this must, furthermore, be added that the swarm of imperial state and municipal officials of all degrees, educate, and must educate, their children mainly for professions, like the ones enumerated above. The social position, education and requirements of these classes make it necessary to withhold their children from

the so-called lower occupations, but these, as a matter of fact, are over-crowded also. The system of one-year voluntary service in the army, that, upon the attainment of a certain degree of education and a certain material sacrifice, permits young men to complete their military service in one year instead of in two or three, also increases the number of candidates for offices and positions. There are, especially, many sons of wealthy peasants who do not care to return to their native villages and the professions of their fathers.

As a result of all these circumstances, the proletariat of scholars and artists and of the so-called liberal professions, is more numerous in Germany than in any other country. This proletariat is constantly increasing, and is bearing the fermentation and dissatisfaction with existing conditions into the highest strata of society. This youth is aroused and incited to a criticism of the existing order, and helps to hasten the general decomposition. So these conditions have brought about that the German Social Democracy took the leadership in the gigantic struggle of the future. German Socialists were the ones to discover the laws underlying modern social development, and to demonstrate scientifically that Socialism will be the coming form of society. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels took the lead. They were followed by Ferdinand Lassalle,whose agitation fired the masses. German Socialists have also been the pioneers of Socialistic thought among the workingmen of other countries.

Half a century ago, Buckle wrote, as a result of his studies of German education and culture, that Germany possessed a number of the greatest scholars, but that in no other country, the gulf between the class of scholars and the mass of the people were equally great. This was true of Germany, as long as science was limited to that circle of scholars who stood aloof from that practical life. But, since Germany has been revolutionized economically, science has been pressed into the service of practical life. Science itself became practical. People began to recognize that science attained its full value only when it helped to promote the comforts of life. The development of capitalistic production on a large scale forced

this recognition upon us. As a result, all branches of knowledge have been democratized in Germany during the last decade. The great number of young men trained for the practice of learned professions, have helped to carry science among the people, and the general education, that has attained a higher degree in Germany, than in most other countries, has disseminated many products of the intellect among the masses. But the Socialist movement, especially, with its literature, its newspapers, its societies and meetings, its parliamentary representation and its constantly practiced criticism on all fields of public life, has considerably raised the intellectual level of the masses.

The exceptional laws enacted against the Social Democrats (from 1878 to 1890) have in no wise changed this. They merely hemmed in the movement to some extent, and slackened its pace. But they also helped to make the movement more profound, and to arouse much bitterness against the ruling classes and the powers of the state. The final repeal of the exceptional laws was only due to the development of the Social Democratic Party, under these laws, and to the economic development of the nation. Thus the movement is progressing, as it must progress, under the given circumstances.

As the Socialist movement has progressed in Germany, it has also progressed, beyond all expectations, in other states of the civilized world. The international congresses of labor, whose attendance is constantly increasing, furnish an eloquent proof of this progress.

So the great war of the minds has begun in all civilized countries of the world, and is being waged with the greatest ardor. Beside the social sciences, the wide realm of the natural sciences, hygiene, history and philosophy, furnish the weapons for this war. The foundations of existing conditions are attached on **all** sides, and the strongest blows are directed against the pillars of the old régime. Revolutionary thoughts penetrate the most conservative circles, and create confusion in the camp of our enemies. Artisans and scholars, farmers and artists, merchants and officers, even manufacturers and bankers, in short, men of all positions, join the workingmen, who

form the bulk of that great army that is striving for victory, and is bound to win it. All mutually support and supplement each other.

Woman, too, and especially the proletarian woman, has been called upon, not to lag behind in this struggle that is being fought for her liberation and redemption also. It is up to her to prove that she has recognized her true position in the movement, and in the struggle of the present for a better future, and that she is determined to participate. It is the duty of the men to help her to cast aside all prejudices and to take part in the great struggle. Let no one underestimate his strength, and think that his help is of no consequence. In the struggle for the progress of mankind, no power, not even the weakest, can be spared. The steady fall of drops will finally hollow the hardest stone. Many drops make a brook, the brooks make a river, and the rivers make a stream. Finally, no obstacle is strong enough to hem the stream's majestic course. It is the same with the development of man. If all who feel called upon devote their whole strength to this struggle, the ultimate victory will be certain. This victory will be all the greater, the more eagerly and unselfishly each one pursues the mapped out path. Doubts, whether the individual for all his sacrifices, toils and efforts, may still live to see the dawn of a new, more beautiful period of civilization, must not effect us, nor must they prevent us from pursuing the chosen path. We can neither determine the length, nor the nature of the phases of development, that this struggle for the highest aims must still pass thru; we can do this as little as we have any certainty in regard to the duration of our lives. But as we are dominated by the joy of living, so may we also cherish the hope that we may live to see this victory. We are living in an age that rushes forward "with seven league boots," and that makes all enemies of a **new, higher** order of society tremble.

Every day furnishes new proof of the rapid growth, and the tremendous spread of Socialist thought. Everywhere there is motion and progress. The dawn of a better day is drawing nigh. So let us struggle and strive onward, regardless of "where" and "when" the boundary-

posts of a new and better age for mankind will be raised. If we should fall in the course of this great struggle for liberation, others will take our place. We will fall with the consciousness of having done our duty as human beings, and with the conviction that the goal will be attained, no matter how the powers hostile to humanity may oppose and resist the triumphal march of progress.

"The future belongs to Socialism, that is, primarily, to the worker and to woman."

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